

EARLY PIONEER GRAVESTONES OF POPE COUNTY, ILLINOIS



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Edited by Herbert K. Russell and Herb Meyer
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Cover Photograph: Old Home Church and cemetery.

Michael J. McNerney



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PREFACE

Although we hesitate to say it, there is only one way to describe a small human-like silhouette partially obscured in the woods: ghostly. Did you see what I thought I saw? Made of stone, thus earthy, yet ephemeral at the same time, these wonderfully plain figures drew us like magnets on an exploration that would continue for eight months and cover many hundreds of miles.

In Pope County eventually we found 23 of the gravestones carved in a pattern to resemble the outline of a human figure. As objects of pioneer folk art, these stones are unusual, perhaps even rare. From them we have learned much about the technical aspects of how they were made, and we will describe these discoveries for you here.

But this report goes well beyond an account of the 23 gravestones themselves, distinctive as they are. The stones are more than objects: they are for the most part the only remaining vestiges of 23 pioneer settlers whose lives, and those of their families, encompassed much that is worth remembering, yet over many years forgotten. Our object has been to retrieve some of those stories from obscurity and to share with you the rewards of our searches for them.

Although our research for reconstructing the various family histories has been thorough and in some cases exhaus-

tive, much remains that could be done. It was not possible for us to carry studies of individual families and their interconnections to their potential limits; more than a hundred family names and several hundred individuals came into the picture.

We have taken great care to be factual and accurate, and to qualify certain observations as "probable" or "possible" when we could not come to certainty. We know that new information later may point up errors and omissions. We welcome all such information, comments and ideas from any interested reader, because some intriguing questions remain unanswered.

Two problems are always possible in the deriving of reliable dates, stylistic correlations and other information from gravestones. One is that inscriptions can contain errors, a result of faulty information provided or inscribed by family members, or mistakes made by carvers in copying information given them. Another difficulty is that gravestone death dates do not always correspond to the time at which the marker was placed.

In the sections describing the cemeteries and the gravestones, all spellings are given as inscribed on the stones. In the text elsewhere, corrected spellings are used, and with regard to personal names the spellings are those generally in use

by the family at that time (some changed over the years).

In some instances we have used names of towns and other geographical features as they are today, even though they did not exist at the time being discussed, to simplify locational orientations for the reader. This applies particularly to counties and townships or, as in Pope County, precincts.

For those not familiar with the term, "squatter" in historical context means simply an individual who settled on public land, often establishing a home and making improvements with hope of buying the land later, without having obtained title.

With regard to comments such as "nothing was found" or "undocumented," it should be remembered that absence of a name from various documents and records is not in itself proof that the person was not present or living during the time or at the location in question, or that further information cannot be found. The period of our study is early; public and private recordkeeping was sparse and incomplete during the earliest years of settlement in southern Illinois.

We hope that through this small publication our readers can join in the joy of exploration and the excitement of discovery which we experienced throughout our search.

Acknowledgments

We are indebted to those many persons whose interest and generous assistance has been invaluable. In the progress of our research we have met numerous new friends not only in Pope County but beyond, especially including Virginia. Some are descendants of the families represented in this study, and that has given special meaning to our work.

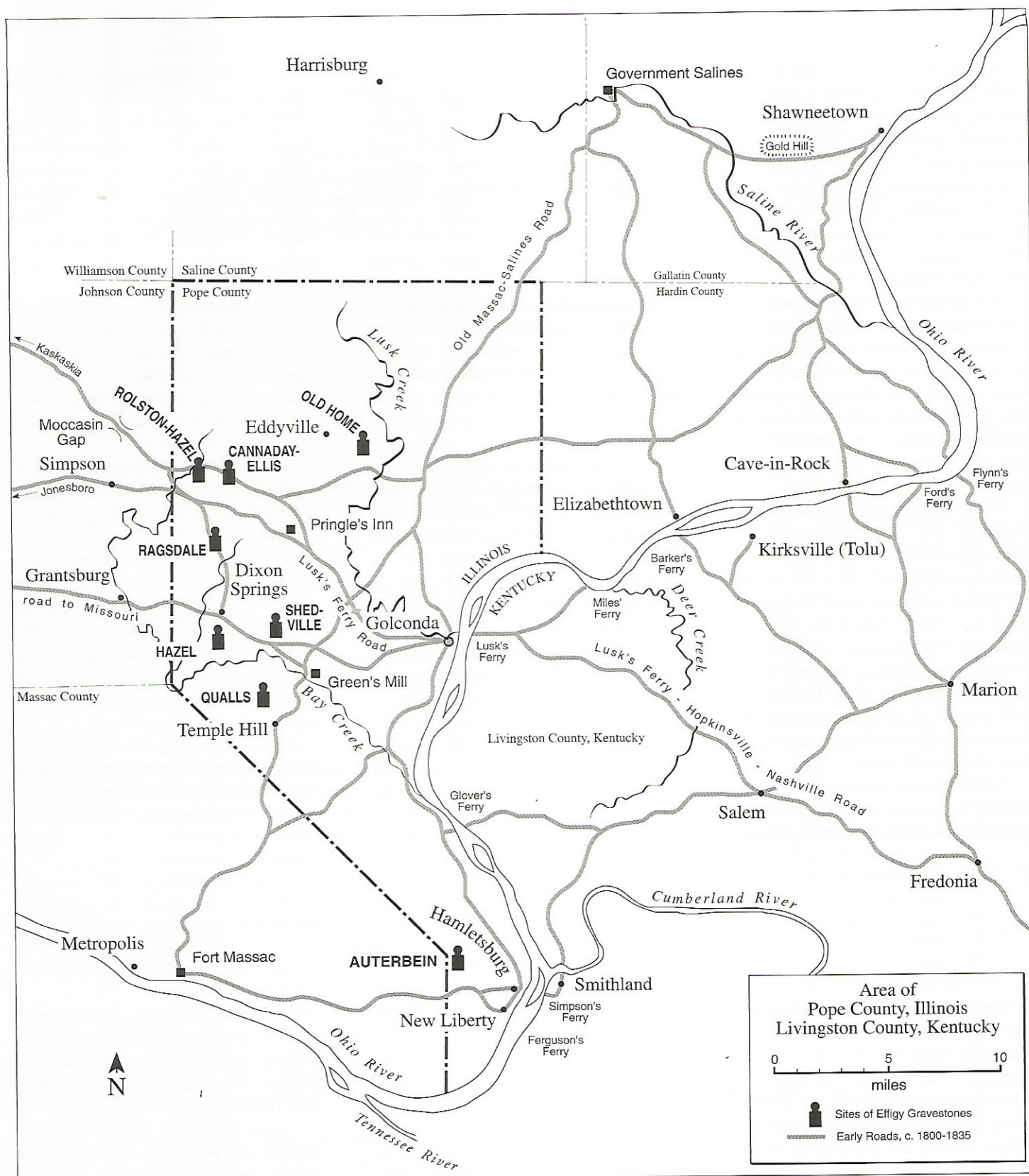
We wish to thank the following individuals in Illinois: Hazel Bakehouse,

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Map 1. Pope County and vicinity.

INTRODUCTION

Spending time in cemeteries naturally leads one to contemplate the life and death of the persons represented by the markers. There is also a strong desire to communicate with the dead, especially if the stone is a human-like figure. Whether a solitary marker in an active cemetery or a community of several in a long abandoned graveyard, they invite the visitor to learn more, to strike up a conversation. They have remained mute and so we must be content with traditional research techniques: archival sources, published sources, and interviews, often with descendants of the subjects.

Recent notes regarding anthropomorphic gravestones in the newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies (AGS) and earlier visits to cemeteries in White and Hamilton counties, Illinois, where similar stones were observed, provided the stimulus for this investigation. Learning of anthropomorphic stones in

several cemeteries in Pope County, we decided to focus our attention in a single area. Our search took us to eight cemeteries and produced a sample of 23 stones (*Map 1*). The proximities of the cemeteries, the stylistic similarity of the stones, the use of local sandstone, and the recurring family names sparked question after question. Who carved the stones? Was the carver a member of a family represented on the stones? Was the style preferred by members of a particular ethnic group or religious denomination? Could this style be traced to a single area in the eastern United States? These and other questions allowed us to formulate a study objective: to establish a cultural, historical, and technological context for the purpose of exploring the foregoing questions and as a baseline for future investigations.

Pope County is one of Illinois' most scenic areas, and a ramble through its hills and hollows is always a treat. Be-

cause it is bordered by the Ohio River without a bridge or ferry to let you pass through, you must stop and enjoy. At the time of settlement, the county and the surrounding Shawnee Hills were entirely forested with oak and hickory trees. The rugged hills in the northern two-thirds of the county are drained by Bay Creek, Lusk Creek, and Grand Pierre Creek. As Bay Creek flows toward the Ohio River, its valley broadens and before 1900 was a vast swamp. A lower group of hills occupies the southern one-third of the county, rising above the Ohio River and Bay Creek bottomlands. Sandstone and limestone outcrop throughout the county, the overlying sandstone often forming bluffs along valley margins or on the tops of high hills. Economically important deposits of fluor spar, lead, and zinc occur in the northeastern part of the county. Today the Shawnee National Forest controls about half the area of the county.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

The road just traveled is one much used.

We first met Frederick Benard in his final resting place in the Old Home Church graveyard (*Map 1*) in Pope County. All we learned about him from that first meeting was his name and birth and death dates, crudely scratched on a sandstone human-effigy marker. Later, we learned that he was born in Germany in the mid-18th century, married at age 29 in Frederick County, Virginia, and then with his new wife and a growing family began to move toward southwestern Virginia. By 1800, with his wife and family and neighbors from northern Virginia, he was living in what is today Pulaski County.

Like thousands of other emigrants, the Benard family and their friends were pressed against the eastern flanks of the Appalachian Mountains in the late 18th century, not far from that great doorway to the west, the Cumberland Gap (*Map 2*). In 1800 it is estimated that 95 percent of America's population lived east of the Appalachians. This was about to change. With Indian land cessions, the

close of the War of 1812, escalating land prices in the East and cheaper land in the West, the trickle of emigrants which had been led by hunters like Daniel Boone and his extended family, the Bryans, between about 1779 and 1795 became a flood. In 1817 Frederick Benard, his family and friends decided it was time for them to join the throngs that were heading west along the Wilderness Road, the eastern portion of which passed very near their Virginia home.

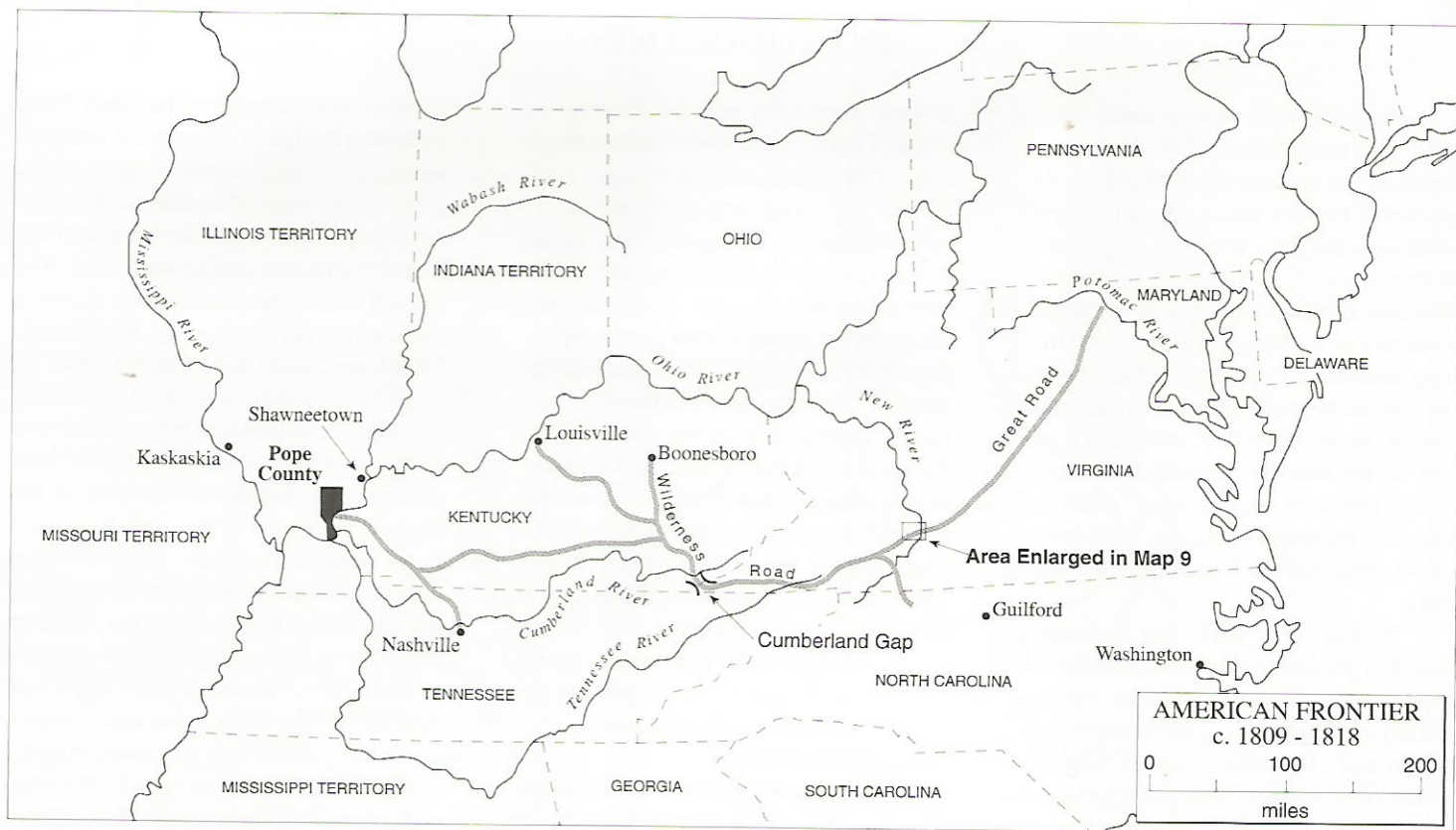
In the late summer of that year, the party headed west and did not stop until it reached Clark County, Indiana, across the Ohio River from Louisville. Some of the emigrants stayed in Clark County for about four years; some moved on to Pope County, Illinois, in early 1818.

Such a migration pattern was repeated over and over again with families, friends, and neighbors leaving Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, some stopping along the way, others moving directly to Illinois and beyond.

By 1818, the year Illinois became a state, the population was estimated at about 40,000. In an area that included present Pope County and portions of Hardin and Massac totaling 600 square miles, there were 2,069 inhabitants, or slightly more than three persons per square mile.

Land offices had opened in Vincennes and Kaskaskia by 1804, and the early emigrants to Pope County who had been squatting on the land could take title to their chosen piece of real estate at Shawneetown by 1812. Pope County land prices ranged from \$1.25 to \$2.00 per acre at that time.

Early villages of the region included Shawneetown, founded about 1804, Golconda, established as Lusk's Ferry in 1798, and Ft. Massac near present-day Metropolis. At first these communities were no more than clusters of log cabins. By 1818 Shawneetown, the principal port of entry for emigrants heading north and west, had several taverns, a bake house, and about 30 log houses. In



Map 2. American frontier c. 1809-1818.

1818 William Tell Harrison, a traveler passing through Shawneetown, commented on the traffic:

Considerable business being done here, as it is on the road from the southern States to St. Louis, and the Missouri, and the land office is here. The number of waggons, horses, and passengers crossing, awaiting to cross the Ohio, was so great, that a great part of the morning was spent in waiting for my turn; at length I grew impatient, and taking the opportunity of a skiff, turned my back on Illinois, and landed in the State of Kentucky.

Pope County: *Hard-fisted farmers and government land.*

About 1800 Golconda, today the county seat of Pope County, contained a tavern and a handful of houses clustered about the ferry at the mouth of Lusk Creek. Several trails and newly cleared roads branched out from Lusk's Ferry for

the Government Salines, Kaskaskia, the Mississippi River, and points west.

In 1820 John R. Bell crossed the Mississippi River near Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and traveled overland to Golconda. His observations provide a glimpse of activity and settlement at the time:

SATURDAY, OCTR. 14th. During the night, a shower of rain, this morning there is frost, the weather cold and cloudy, breakfasted and proceeded 3 miles to Jonesburg, the seat of Justice for Union County, it is pleasantly situated on the summit of a hill, and contains about 40 buildings a new frame court house, and I observed as I passed thro' a number of store mechanic shops public houses & near town a flouring mill, the face of the country hill but good soil producing from 40 to 50 bushels of corn from the acre. Continuing on 15 miles is the Town of Elvira, formerly a county town, there appear to be two families residing here, altho' there is standing

the old jail, and a number of dwellings unoccupied—10 miles further to M Langlees, where I put up for the night, he is a Georgian, his wife a very lady like woman, all things were genteel and comfortable—Mr Langlees is 3 miles north of Vianna the seat of justice of Johnson county—pork selling for 2 1/2\$ per cwt. Distance to day 28 miles.

SUNDAY, OCTR. 15th. A heavy white frost this morning, the sun rose in all his splendour, not a cloud was there, in the ethereal sky, to varigate the celestial sun—after partaking of an excellent cup of coffee and breakfast I proceeded with uncommon good feelings—to Mr Pringles where I halted for dinner. The gentleman of the house very civil and polite, several very handsome young ladies here, and I had an excellent dinner of beef and chickens. The land in this county (Pope, of which Golconda is the seat of justice) is much more hilly and broken than either of the other counties I have travelled thro', the soil does not ap-

pear of so good quality. In the afternoon arrived at Golconda, crossed the Ohio river, into the state of Kentucky, stopped for the night at the house of Col. Heads who keeps the ferry, himself & lady was absent, I however received good fare and attendance from the servants of his house. The road just travelled across the State of Illinois, is one much used and is in fine order—the number of settlements on the road averaging about one to every three miles—the improvements are much less than I expected to see, which may be accounted for, in this way, that until lately, the land did not belong to the settlers, they were what is termed squatters, and until they became the proprietors of the soil, they paid no attention to improvements more than was absolutely necessary, but now fruit trees begin to be cultivated and comfortable house erected—every house accomodates travellers, but travellers should enquire their character before they select one to stop at. The Village of Golconda has improved during the last season. The water in the Ohio is low. Travelled to day 30 miles.

William Pringle's home was just four miles southeast of the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery on the Lusk's Ferry-Kaskaskia Road (Map 1). He had been licensed in September of 1819 "to keep tavern one year from this date."

Welcome Arnold Greene, a wealthy eastern businessman and adventurer, had disembarked at Fort Massac on April 1, 1824 during a steamboat trip up the Ohio. He could not catch another boat on the Illinois side of the river, so he hired a horse and servant from James H.G. Wilcox a mile below Fort Massac for an overland trip to Hamlettsburg and on to Smithland, Kentucky (Map 1). Greene's description of the approximately fourteen-mile trip follows:

Finding my chance of getting on board a steamboat at Fort Massac very slim, obtained of James H.G. Wilcox 2 horses and his servant and rode up the Illinois side the river to the ferry which crosses to this place. The first 2 miles of our ride from

Fort Massac was fetterlock deep in mud to get round a bayou or creek which the Ohio flowed back. We then took the highlands for the sake of a better road, getting directions of a man who lived about 4 miles from Fort Massac. He showed us a footpath which we were to follow and, when it forked, we were to take the path which had the tracks of a shod horse.

With this direction we went on very well six or seven miles when the path forking, and both having the required impression, we erred in taking one which, at this place, had one or two tracks of wheels also, and were consequently led further from the river and into the barrens, as they are called, so as to extend our ride from 18 to about 24 miles. These barrens are a light soil, some of then gravelly hills having a stunted growth of wood, with valleys of moist and no doubt rich land.

In riding on the top of one of these ridges, which commanded a view of some extent of country, we saw a part of the Ohio at a distance which, from its direction, we knew must be the reach of the river above the place of our destination and consequently took the first path to our right which soon led us into what the servant called a big road—that is a footpath through an avenue made by cutting away the trees to the width of a rod. Our whole way was through forests and barrens, ten miles of it without seeing even a log house, and one, then, was a very welcome sight, particularly when assured we were now on our right road to the ferry and that at the next fork, where we struck into a footpath where the trees were not felled, we should have a guide in following that path which had 3 notches cut on the trees by its side.

The land between the barrens and the ferry at Hamlettsburg of about four or five miles in width, a rolling, very rich, and covered with large forest trees. I was surprised to see such land not at all improved.

To capture the flavor of life in deep southern Illinois during the early decades of the 19th century, a few personal ac-

counts give us glimpses of arriving in Illinois, clearing land, settlement, social and religious activities, economics, death, and hard times.

Joshua Copeland remembered life in the times of his youth in what is now Pope, Massac, and Johnson counties. Although the dates are not exact, the following reminiscence, in Page's History of Massac County, probably dates to the first two decades of the 19th century:

Some men lived here who did nothing but hunt, among them John Simkins, who died near Bay City in the "50s." John Bennett, my mother's brother, was also a hunter, but did other work. A saddle of venison, the half with the hind-quarters, sold for "three bits" (37 1/2 c.) Simkins often gave one deer to have another carried out of the woods for him. Wild turkeys were so abundant hunters never wasted ammunition on them but caught hundreds in turkey pens.

Many men wore buckskin suits. Women wore such clothes as they made at home, with carding, spinning, weaving and dyeing. The settlers tanned their own leather, made their own pegs, lasts and shoes. Some things were bought at Smithland and a village was at Golconda. Mr. Lorothe kept a mixed store and Dr. Sims lived there.

In 1870 S.D. Poor was living in Grantsburg, Illinois, just four miles east of the present study area. His reminiscence, in Bucciferro's Parker's History of Johnson County, describes his family's arrival in Illinois and establishment of a homestead about 1835:

I was born in the State of Tennessee, Fentress County, in the year 1827, April the 8th, my father being a hard fisted farmer, a poor man, living on rented ground. When I was eight years of age my father started to move to Arkansas. His wealth was one yoke of little steers, one blind sorrel mare, and about one hundred dollars in cash. While coming through Bowling Green, Kentucky, he bought B.F. Poor (my brother) and myself the first pair of

shoes we ever had. We camped this side of town. B.F. and I put on our shoes, and liked to have walked all night: it was something new to us. We moved on, and camped on the first hill this side of Friendship Church [near Grantsburg]. Weather getting cold; about out of money; concluded to remain all winter and go on in the spring; but the country suited us very well, and we concluded to remain. We had no money and no land, though there was plenty of Congress land.

There were only five dwelling houses from Grantsburg to Vienna. Father took the contract to get out a set of barn logs for old man Joe McCorkle for fifty dollars. He took the money and entered forty acres of land. The place was later owned by John Martin. We cleared the ground, packed rails and fenced twenty acres the first year; Ren and I to one rail—Wash, Seny, Nancy and father one rail apiece. The steers had been sold for something to live on.

About one year after we settled, Father and Nancy took sick and died, and both were buried at James Grissom's. We wiggled along the best we could for two or three years, with one old blind mare and plowing and hoeing some.

Economics: *Coffee, castor oil, and shoes on four bits a day.*

Among Elias Cotton's probate records we found a bill presented for farm labor at the rate of 50 cents per day for "trying to save tobacco crops" in 1836. This information provides a nice yardstick with which to consider the cost of goods, services, and farm produce during the 1830s, the time of peak popularity of the human effigy gravestones in Pope County.

From the estate sales of John Ditterline (died 1831), King Hazel (died 1837), and Elias Cotton (died 1835), a representative price of goods purchased by neighbors and family members included: lot of hogs \$30.00, cows and steers \$11.00-\$15.00, horses \$35.00-\$55.00, sheep \$3.50 each, yoke of steers

\$16.25-\$35.00, wagon \$47.00, plow irons \$1.37, steel traps \$1.63, kettles \$2.00-\$4.00, guns \$16.25-\$18.00, powder flask \$2.00, bedstead and furniture \$15.00, log chain \$4.87, saddles \$13.37-\$17.00, grindstone \$1.75, lot of tobacco \$7.00, and lot of Irish potatoes \$1.31.

From accounts submitted for payment to the estates of King Hazel and Elias Cotton, we find that both families were trading in Golconda, a distance of from 10 to 12 miles. The Cotton family account at Clarke and McCoy's Store included: weeding hoe \$.50, bottle of wine \$.50, gallon of whiskey \$.87, and a linen round coat \$4.75. From the same store the King Hazel family purchased: epsom salts \$.18, empty barrel \$.50, bottle of castor oil \$.37, pair of shoes \$2.00, and a wash bowl and pitcher \$1.25. The Hazels also bought goods at Samuel Roper's store: pocket knife \$.12, wool hat \$1.25, and shrouding material for King Hazel's casket and other funeral expenses \$5.62. There was also a bill from Guy Richmond for four pounds of nails \$.50, five pounds of coffee \$1.00, and three crocks \$1.00.

Dr. William Sim, well-known Golconda physician, presented a bill for \$31.27 for Elias Cotton's medicine and care during his last days.

Although we examined the estates of four Pope County farmers, three of which were represented by human effigy gravestones, we were unable to find a bill for the making of one of the stones. Perhaps the making of this style stone was a traditional gift from a neighbor or family member.

From this limited sample it appears that agricultural activities were fairly diversified by the 1830s and included hogs, cattle, sheep, tobacco, garden produce, and certainly corn, although it did not appear on the estate sales or appraisals.

King Hazel's estate sale brought \$635.31, the highest of those examined.

Education: *Boarding around for pupils and pelts.*

Schools were very scarce on the frontier. John Mack Faragher tells us in his excellent biography of Daniel Boone that Daniel learned to read and spell a

little from a Quaker woman who married his older brother. His spelling was phonetic like most others during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Boone eventually developed a love of reading and often read to his hunting companions around the campfire. The women in the Boone household could not read or write, a condition that was probably true of most women at the time.

Court documents examined for this study indicated most of our subjects could not write but signed their name with a mark.

Teachers also were scarce. Brawn and hunting skills were more highly valued than education. J.E.Y. Hanna, writing about Pope County in Page's History of Massac County, said: "Generally the best qualification for a school teacher was his inability or unfitness for any other occupation." Hanna did not intend that as a slur against teachers. He was simply acknowledging hard facts of life in early rural Pope County: life maintenance meant unrelenting toil, and survival required the full contribution of every able hand. There was precious little time for teaching or for learning; there was no money, at first, for the hiring of regular teachers.

Although we have no records of educational activities in Pope County before 1825, it is likely that some teaching occurred in Golconda, possibly within the early churches or by private subscription. According to historian John Allen, by 1825 residents of several different vicinities of Pope County were petitioning the Board of County Commissioners for the establishment of the first school districts. These were located around Golconda and northward along the Ohio River.

Allen states that "an old sailor named Pittulo was teaching in the vicinity of Golconda in 1800, and . . . he taught some years thereafter in the same vicinity. This man 'boarded around,' that is, he went from home to home for various lengths of time, staying at each place somewhat according to the number of pupils attending from there. This teacher received most of his salary in skins and pelts which he converted into money by selling them to fur dealers who came to the town once or twice a year. He also added to his income by selling vegetables to keel boat men."

J. E. Y. Hanna in Page's History of Massac County relates that the earliest schools in the county were in a settlement called Hanna Hills, extending between Columbus (today's Old Brownfield), Waltersburg, Hodgeville and Golconda. Hanna states: "In 1817 or 1818, James Pittallo, a man of considerable means, emigrated from Scotland and located here . . . taught for a number of years, and was -- for that time -- an excellent teacher."

John Allen's date of 1800 is surprising; at that time Golconda was Lusk's Ferry, no more than a few rough cabins clustered about the ferry landing, a highly unlikely place for a teacher's calling. James Pattillo (as the name was correctly spelled) appears in the 1820 census residing in the Hanna Hills neighborhood; he is not in the 1810 or 1818 censuses. Hanna's "1817 or 1818" seems reasonably good, and probably represents the earliest date for any kind of formal schooling in Pope County.

Religion: *Almost persuaded to believe.*

It is important to a study of grave-stones that we have some knowledge of early church history and membership. Unfortunately, early histories are not available for the churches affiliated with the cemeteries of this study. The First Presbyterian Church in Golconda was organized October 24, 1819, and is the oldest Presbyterian congregation in Illinois. Its early members were primarily "town folk" as opposed to the "rural folk" of our study, a difference which appears to be significant to this investigation.

Although not precise, it is estimated that in 1830 only about ten percent of the people living in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi were members of a major Protestant denomination. In January of 1818, a Mr. Low visited Shawneetown and commented on morality of the inhabitants:

Among its two or three hundred inhabitants there was not a single soul that made any pretensions to religion. Their shocking profaneness was enough to make one afraid to walk the street; and those who on the Sabbath were not fighting and

drinking at the taverns and grog-shops were either hunting in the woods or trading behind their counters. A small audience gathered to hear the missionary preach. But even a laborer who could devote his whole time to the field might almost as soon expect to hear the stones cry out as to expect a revolution in the morals of the place.

We should keep in mind that, as a river town and ferry crossing, Shawneetown had a highly transient population. The more settled communities were probably not quite as wild.

Before churches were established, circuit riding preachers served the area. Ministers James Alexander and Jesse Pearce of the Cumberland Presbyterian churches in White and Gallatin counties are reported to have preached in Pope County. Robert Trail reports that the famous Methodist circuit-riding preacher Peter Cartwright was in the southern Illinois area about 1810, possibly holding one of the famous camp meetings of the period.

Old Home Church near Eddyville, one of the churches and cemeteries in our sample, was a Cumberland Presbyterian church; however, its records indicate the church did not join the conference until 1884. Cumberland is an old frontier denomination and it is likely there was a congregation at or near Old Home before 1884.

The Muddy Association of the Primitive Baptist denomination was organized in 1820 and had churches on Lusk and Grand Pierre creeks in Pope County, but the dates of these individual churches are not known. A Reverend James P. Crawford served the Sugar Creek Baptist Church just a mile and one half northwest of Hazel Cemetery where four of our subjects are buried.

Religion, whether practiced informally in backwoods homes and campgrounds or in organized congregations with their own meetinghouses, was a vital source of reassurance and stability where life often could be dismayingly hard.

Even if one did not partake, there was somehow always the feeling that one should. S.D. Poor wrote of his own attempt to "get religion:"

In the fall of 1844, about the time James K. Polk was elected for president, I was living at old Joe's and was about seventeen and a half years old, there came up a big protracted meeting in Vienna, carried on by James Alexander, McCallen, Standard and others. Bill Price's and Press McFatridge's wives, Amanda and Nicinda, were girls just in their prime, very strict and bashful, and me being well acquainted with them we all attended the big meeting. During the time of the meeting the two girls came to be mourners, and finally professed to have religion. They arose from the mourners bench and all shame and fear had left them. They went through the crowd shouting and shaking hands, and would approach a young man that a few days before they would not for a land warrant. I was amazed at the change. I was like Agrippa, "almost persuaded to believe." I had no doubt but that there was reality in the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, and put myself to studying the matter over. The more I studied the worse it got; did as the others did, and went to the mourner's bench; never did any good; felt no better. My lot or share was, night and morning, to turn the cows out and in the pasture, some distance from the house, and it was my rule for several days, in going to and from the field, to stop behind a big oak and with all my knowledge seek an interest in my Redeemer's cause and there was certainly a change in my feelings. But dark have been the clouds since then -- sometimes light and sometimes darkness. Oftentime when I would have done good, evil was present; but my aim and course was straight-forward.

THE CEMETERIES

When I enter a church-yard, I love to converse with the dead.
Isaac Watts, 1734

Rolston-Hazel Cemetery

This long abandoned, isolated grave site is located on the north side of a prominent topographic feature known as Millstone Bluff (*Map 3*). The two remaining stones occupy a small ridge spur just southwest of Bay Creek and its junction with an unnamed tributary. We learned of the graves from a 1963 article by Lowell Dearing that appeared in *Outdoor Illinois* magazine. Anxious to see if the stones were still present after 30 years, we set out through the woods in search of the grave site. After a careful search, we found two stones propped against trees among the fallen branches left by loggers. Near them were two depressions, possibly made by someone who vandalized the remains.

Both markers were made from sandstone available in the immediate vicinity of the site. The heads were broken

off diagonally at the necks. One marker was that of Rhoda Hazel, born April 30, 1787, died July 14, 1810 (*Plate 1*). The other was Isaac Rolston, born 1751, died December 3, 1823 (*Plate 2*). According to Buell Wise, a nearby resident, there may have been one other burial at the site, but it was abandoned early. Although the graves are in a remote location today, the evidence gathered during these investigations suggests that this area was more densely occupied during the first third of the 19th century.

Several, although not all, of the serifs on Rhoda's stone have been produced with a pointed tool (*Plate 37*) leaving a circular impression rather than the usual short horizontal or vertical mark of most serifs. The T in the second THE was corrected and appears as a combination T and P.

The 1807 squatters list indicates that John Hibben was living just west of the

grave site, and John Wood one-quarter mile east. Joseph McHenry owned a quarter section one-half mile north from the grave site in 1819. We could find no land entries for either Rolston or Hazel on or adjacent to the grave site before 1823, the date of Isaac's death. However, the 1810 Illinois census indicates the following persons living in the upper Bay Creek neighborhood: J. Hibbens [Hibben], and J. Rolston. The order of these names suggests that there were Rolstons living near J. Hibbens when the censustaker made his count. The J. Rolston may have been an incorrect entry for Isaac, or J. Rolston may have been a relative of Isaac's. In any event, two graves this early indicate that both Isaac and Rhoda were living very close to the place of their interment.

Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery

Located just a mile east of the Isaac Rolston-Rhoda Hazel graves is the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery. It occupies a gentle north-facing slope 200 feet above an intermittent tributary of Bay Creek (*Map 3*). Six tilting and leaning anthropomorphic sandstone markers blend with the brown-grey colors of a winter forest until one is close enough to see their distinctive silhouettes. The cemetery is bordered on the east and west by ravines in which much limestone bedrock is exposed. The majority of the approximately 50 markers in the cemetery consists of uninscribed field stones from the two drainageways and the nearby creek. The only commercial stone in the cemetery is a marble tablet bearing the names of Alexander Gray, b. 1777, d. 1849; his wife Sarah, b. 1781, d. 1835; and a daughter Amarita, no dates.

The markers include: Polley Cannaday, born ____, died December 24, 1830 (*Plate 3*); Elzebeth Cannaday, born ____, died July 16, 1831 (*Plate 4*); William C. Cannaday, born ____, died 1839



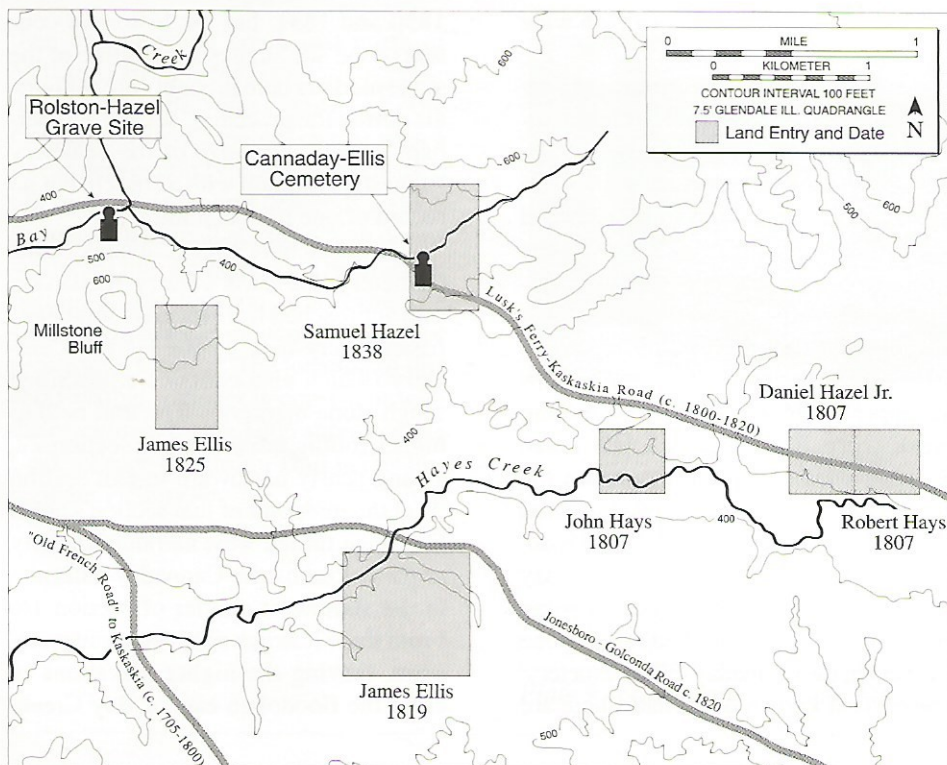
JDA HAZEL
WAS BORN APR
IL THE 30TH
1787 AND DIED
JULY THE 14TH
1810

Plate 1. Gravestone of Rhoda Hazel.



IAACROLSTON
WAS BORN IN TH
YEAR 1751 A N DD
ED DECEMBER
THE 3D 1820

Plate 2. Gravestone of Isaac Rolston.



Map 3. The Rolston-Hazel/Cannaday-Ellis cemeteries and land holdings.

(Plates 5, 6, and 7); Jane Henderson Ellis, born 1808, died ____ (Plate 8); James Ellis, no dates (Plate 9); and Robert Ellis "Lisey," born 1820, died ____ (Plate 10). The stones all face west.

There is no sandstone exposed at or near this cemetery. In texture and thickness the Cannaday-Ellis stones are similar to the Rolston-Hazel stones at Millstone Bluff, and it is likely that the source of the sandstone for these six stones was also from exposures at Millstone Bluff.

The back of James Ellis' stone is smooth and natural, while the face is rough from chisel marks. The person who attempted to inscribe the stone had a great deal of difficulty with the lettering due to this rough and irregular surface, suggesting that the inscription was attempted by someone with little knowledge of stone carving. The epitaph that was attempted is well known and very old, with antecedents in Europe possibly as early as the 14th century and in the British Isles in the 17th century. There are several versions of the rhyme, but the one intended probably reads as follows:

Remember man as you
pass by. As you are
now once was I
As I am now you
soon must be.
Prepare for death
and follow me

Lisey's stone is smaller, and the distance to the foot stone is only 29 inches. This, along with the loving diminutive, indicates the grave of a child.

Although Jane's marker was leaning against a tree when we visited the cem-

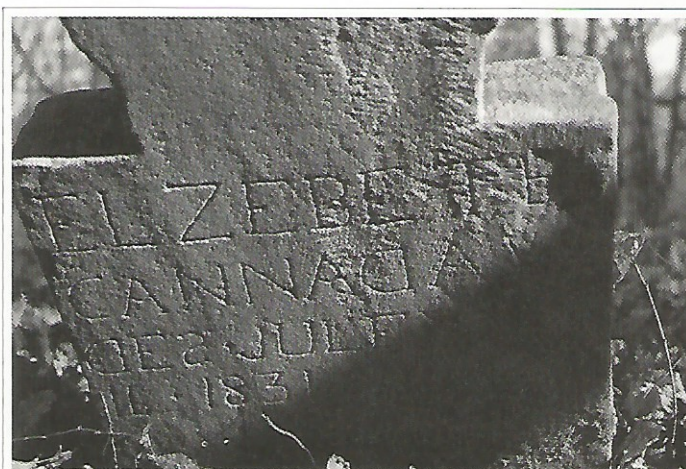


POLLEYCANN
ADAY+DES+THE
24 DECEMBER
1830

Plate 3. Gravestone of Polly Cannaday.

etry, a ground depression which matched the width of the stone was located. A large rectangular sandstone footstone was in place 67 inches from the depression. The intended verse is too fragmentary for a complete translation.

During our first visit to this cemetery William's marker was found broken. On a return visit, while clearing away leaves near the stone, we discovered the upper body, neck, and head. What a nice surprise. Upon turning the head over we were surprised again; there



ELZEBETH
CANNADAY
DES JULY THE
16 1831

Plate 4. Gravestone of Elzebeth Cannaday.

was a neck and shoulder pattern from an earlier start on the stone. The guidelines were executed with a punch (*Plate 6*).

The earliest recorded land entry which includes the cemetery was by Samuel Hazel in 1838 (*Map 3*). James Ellis entered 160 acres a mile south of his final resting place in 1819 and another 80-acre tract on the east side of Millstone Bluff in 1825.

The Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery is interesting particularly for its proximity to the Lusk's Ferry-Kaskaskia Trail, the main route for overland traffic from the early Ohio River crossings to the Mississippi River gateways to the advancing frontier. During the first two decades of the 1800s, this important trail traversed the middle of Pope County northwestward, crossing into Johnson County a mile and a half northwest of Robbs (*Map 1*).

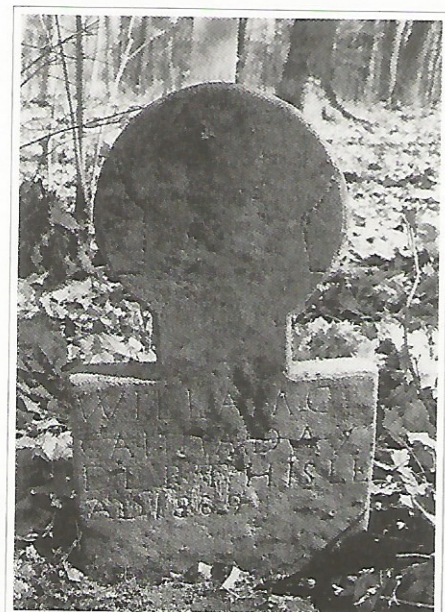
At first little more than a path wide enough for pedestrians and horses, the trail saw increasing use following the inception of James Lusk's ferry at present-day Golconda about 1798 and other ferries across the Ohio soon after. By 1806 it was sufficiently worn to be recorded in a public surveyor's field notes as the "Road to Kaskaskia."

Squatters lists for 1807 show that at least eight settlers had established themselves along the route of the trail across the upper waters of Bay Creek. Among these were Rhoda Hazel and Isaac Rolston, whose adjacent graves on the north foot of Millstone Knob are situated less than 160 yards south of the old road.

Also among these first settlers may have been persons represented by some of the numerous uninscribed rough stone markers in the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery. The earliest known death dates here are

1830 and 1831, but the historical context of the site suggests that some of the stone markers here probably are for burials during the preceding decade and perhaps earlier. The size of the cemetery suggests affiliation with a church, but no record of one has been found.

In the vicinity of the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery, the Lusk's Ferry-Kaskaskia trail approached from the east-southeast, passing very near by the Harper Cemetery (which also contains uninscribed rough stone markers). The trail held to higher rolling terrain across section 22, swung nearly northward to exit section 21 at the midpoint of that section's north line, then turned west and north briefly to pass close by the Cannaday-Ellis site in the southwest quarter of section 16. From there it struck northwest and westward, leaving the higher elevations to cross the floodplain east of Bay Creek,



WILLIAM C
CANNADAY
DEPTHISLE
AD1889

Plate 5. Gravestone of William Cannaday.

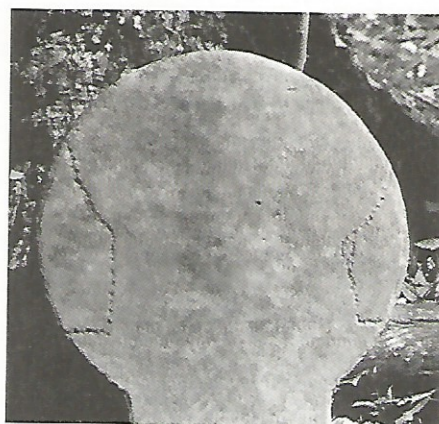


Plate 6. William Cannaday gravestone showing abandoned pattern lines.



Plate 7. William Cannaday footstone.



PRINCESTHE
CLAY MUST BE
YOUR BED IN SPITE
DEATH YOUR TOWARS
THE TOAL PHE WISE
THE REVERENT HED
MUST LAY AS LOW AS
OURS

HARE LIES
THE BODDEYOE
JANE HENDERSON ELLIS
WAS BORN JANUARY THE
31•1808

Plate 8. Gravestone of Jane Henderson Ellis.

then crossing that creek just north of Millstone Bluff (*Map 3*).

Along the west side of the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery can be seen a linear depression typical of a well-used old road. This feature descends a slope to approach a small branch which drains westward into Bay Creek. The branch's bottom at this location is an extensive smooth limestone pavement ideal for year-round fording. The location of this short visible segment is consistent with the placement by the 1806 survey of the Lusk's Ferry-Kaskaskia Trail in this immediate vicinity.



REMBER MAN
AS YOU PAS BY AS
YOU AR NOW SO WONS
WASI YOU
SOON MUST BE PR
EPARE FOR DETH AND
LOLLOW ME

HEARE LIES
THE BODDEY O JAME
S ELLIS

Plate 9. Gravestone of James Ellis.



H E A R E
L I S T H E
BODDEY OF ROBERTELLIS
LISEY WAS BORN JANWAR
T H E 23 1820

Plate 10. Gravestone of Robert Ellis.

Old Home Church and Cemetery

This active and well-kept cemetery is located two miles southeast of Eddyville. It occupies a south-facing ridge that projects from a higher, wooded ridge that rises 120 feet above the church and cemetery. The rugged and scenic valley of Lusk Creek is located just a mile to the southeast.

Flanked by two large maple trees, a simple white frame church that once served a congregation of Cumberland Presbyterians stands as a silent sentinel to the graveyard that occupies its front yard. Pushing open the unlocked door we expected the silence, but the visual impact of the incredibly plain, strong interior, together with little stone people in the front yard, seemed to freeze us in that moment.

There are approximately 270 burials in the cemetery with death dates ranging from 1823 to the present. Like other cemeteries in this study, there are uninscribed field stones, many in the same area as the anthropomorphic stones, suggesting contemporaneity.

Anthropomorphic sandstone markers include: Frederick A. Beanard, born c. 1756, died October 10, 1823 (*Plate 11*); Polly Ann Scott, born ____, died 1826 (*Plate 12*); Sarah S. Barger, born

____, died 1827 (*Plate 13*); Simon S. Barger, born c. 1788, died February 17, 1835 (*Plate 14*); William Scott, born ____, died November 18, 1835 (*Plate 15*); Dorothy Beanard, born c. 1766, died April 5, 1846 (*Plate 16*).

Frederick, in his mid-sixties, had been in Pope County only about two and half years when he died. His wife, Dorothy Helms Beanard, lived another 23 years and was laid to rest near Frederick with a similar marker, but one which appears to be a copy of the earlier stones. The head of Dorothy's stone is asymmetrical and may have been carved without the aid of a compass.

Frederick and Dorothy were married in Frederick County, Virginia, near Winchester, and had five daughters and two sons. Although we do not have deeds or land entries indicating Frederick I's original land purchases, later records indicate that his son, Frederick II, acquired land at and near Old Home Church in several transactions (*Map 4*). Abraham Barger owned property about five miles southeast of the church. There were several Scotts in Pope County, but we have no land entries for them near the cemetery at this time.

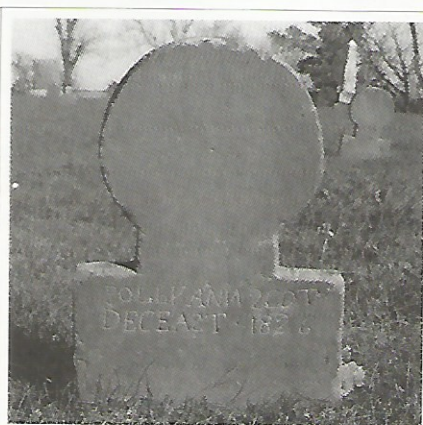
Mildred McCormick, Golconda historian and writer, learned through interviews with a former church member that the congregation did not seek mem-

bership in the Cumberland Presbyterian session until 1884. However, family traditions indicate that there was an older church on the site before the present church was erected. The presence of an earlier building is further confirmed by an open area among the gravestones south of the present church and near the effigy markers.



FREDERICK A
BEANARD DECEA
2T OCTOBER THE 10
1823

Plate 11. Gravestone of Frederick Beanard.



POLLY ANN SCOT
DECEAST • 182 6

Plate 12. Gravestone of Polly Ann Scott.



SARAHS BARGER
DEPARTED THIS
TIFE DECEMBER
27 • 1827

Plate 13. Gravestone of Sarah S. Barger.



SIMONS BARCER
WAS BORN DECEM
BER THE 9 1728
DECESED FEBUA
RY THE • 1T 1835

Plate 14. Gravestone of Simon S. Barger.



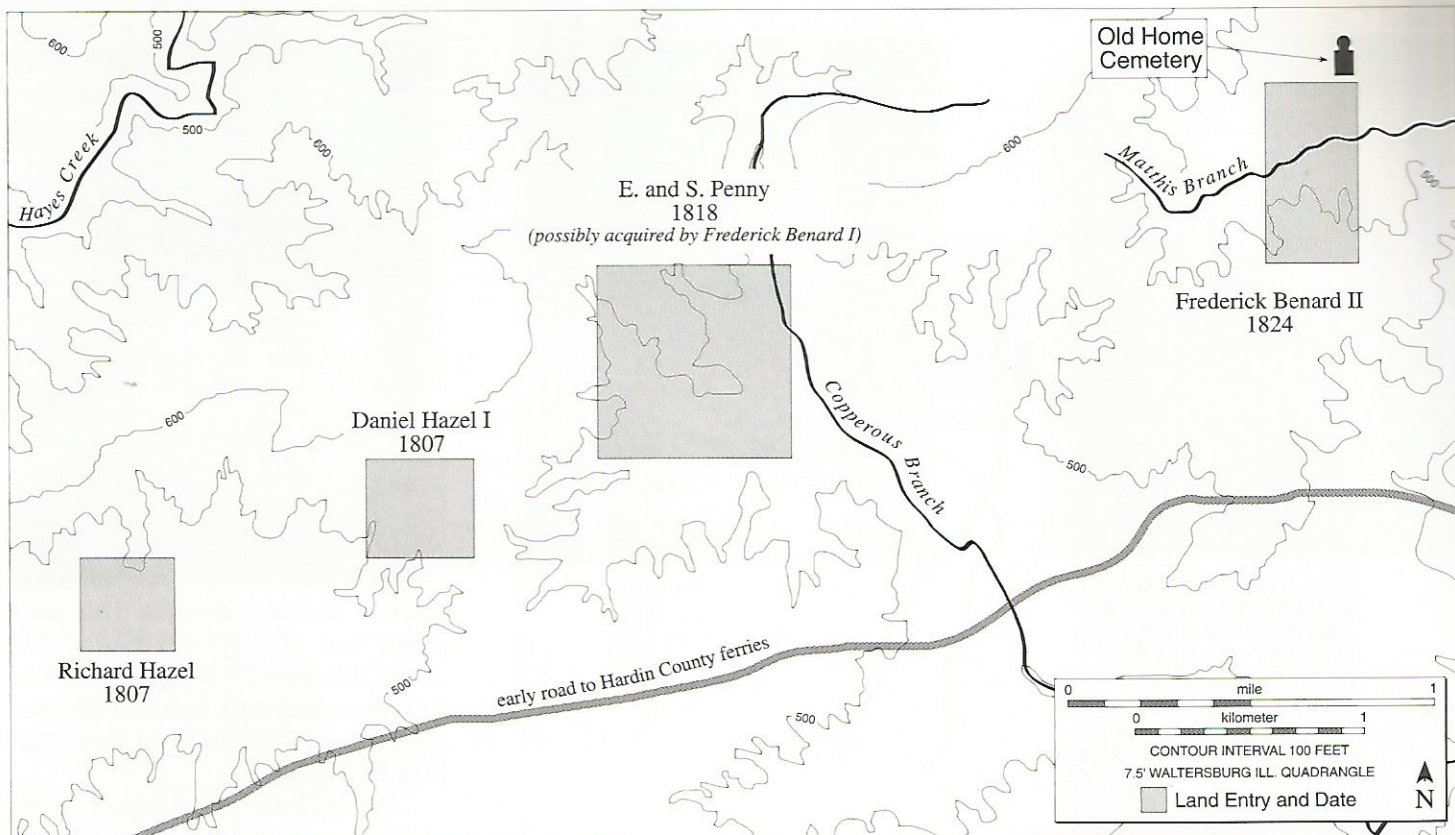
MILLIAM
SCOT DECEA
2T NOVEMBER
THE 18 • 1835

Plate 15. Gravestone of William Scott.



DOROTHY • BEANARD
DECEAST APRIL • 5 • 1846

Plate 16. Gravestone of Dorothy Beanard.



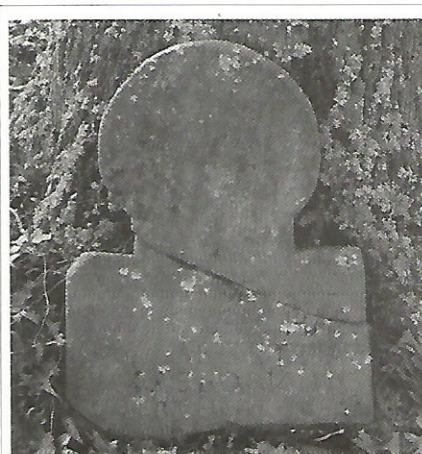
Map 4. Old Home Church and cemetery and land holdings.

Ragsdale Cemetery

Approximately three and a half miles south of the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery and an eighth of a mile west of Illinois Route 145 is the Ragsdale Cemetery (Map 5). It occupies a gently sloping ridge that terminates in the floodplain of Sugar Creek. The old north-south road which has been replaced by Route 145 provides access from the south while a former east-west road borders the cemetery on the north. Both of these old roadways are deeply incised into the landscape.

Woodworth and Bear record 44 burials with the earliest date of death 1849 and the latest 1967. In addition, there are several uninscribed field stones. The cemetery is inactive at this writing. With this many burials, we would expect that the cemetery was once associated with a church. Our interest is the single anthropomorphic marker of Daniel Hazel I, son of Richard and Marget Hazel, born September 17, 1746, no death date (Plates 17 and 18).

Land entries for Samuel Hazel and King H. Hazel were located directly east of the cemetery and William B. Hazel to the south.



DANIEL HAZEL
SON OF RICHARD
& MARGET HAZEL
WAS BORN DEC
EMBER THE 17 + 1746
W E I

Plate 17. Gravestone of Daniel Hazel I.

Daniel Hazel I is identified as a squatter five and one-half miles north-east of the cemetery on the upper reaches of Whiteside Branch in 1807. His father or brother Richard Hazel was located a mile west of Daniel I at the same time (Map 4). By 1825, Samuel Hazel, Daniel's son, owned land adjacent to Ragsdale Cemetery (Map 5).



Plate 18. Gravestone of Daniel Hazel I.

Hazel Cemetery

The sign at the entrance reads Hazel; however, the U.S.G.S. topographic

map identifies the cemetery as Dixon Springs. All of the local citizens refer to it as the Hazel Cemetery. It is located at the junction of Illinois routes 145 and

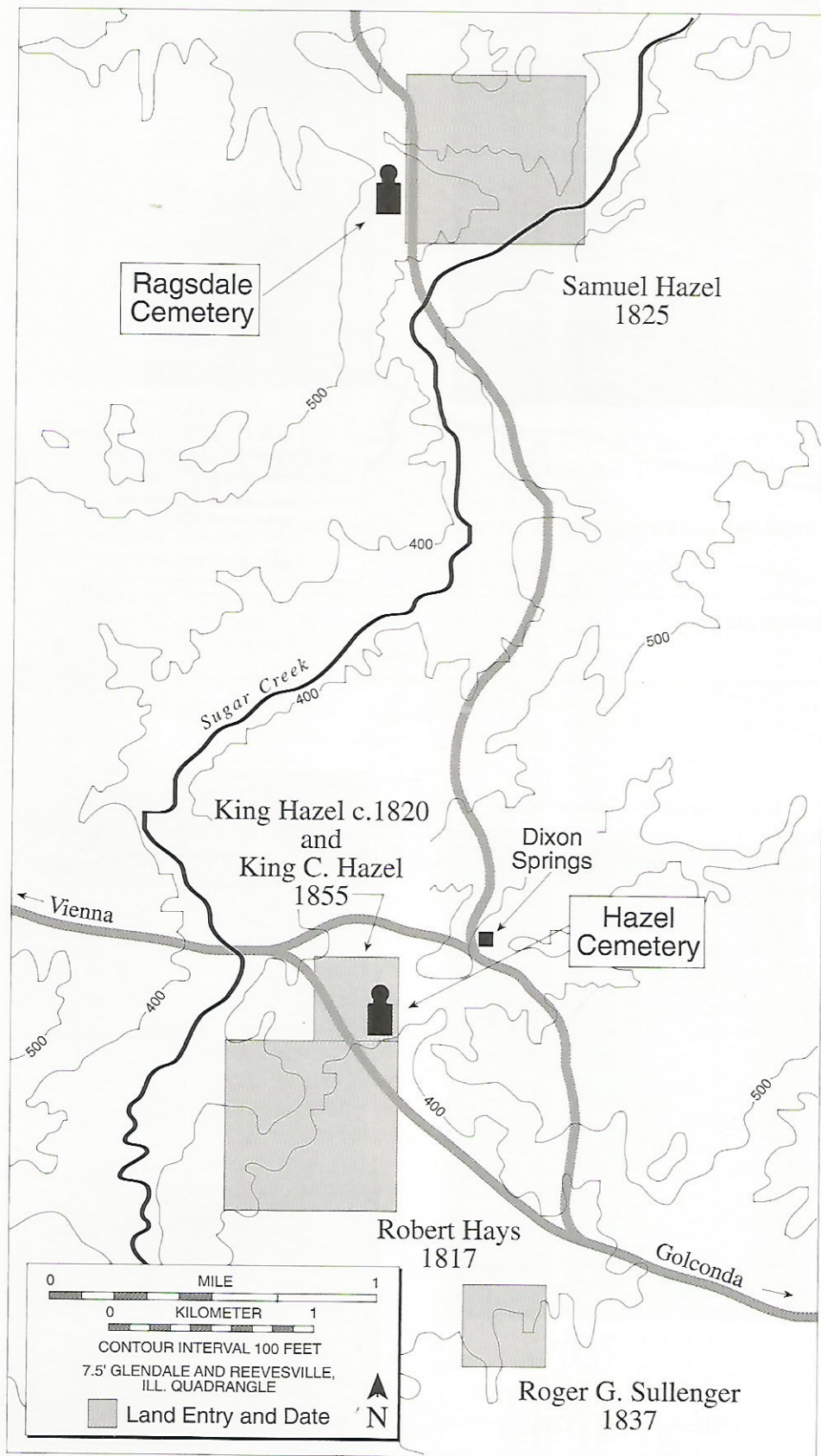
146, one and three-quarter miles south of Ragsdale Cemetery, six miles south of the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery, and about six and one half miles from the Rolston-Hazel graves (*Map 3*). An active cemetery, it contains approximately 150 identifiable burials ranging in death dates from 1834 to the present. There are many uninscribed field stones, several of which are made from sandstone of the Pennsylvanian age Battery Rock formation. This formation outcrops on the east edge of the cemetery and is recognizable by the white pebbles it contains. Such a conglomerate does not facilitate inscription, but some markers are crudely shaped into a tablet form.

Four anthropomorphic sandstone markers include: Susanna Hill, born 1786, died 1834 (*Plates 19 and 20*); James Hill, born 1783, died 1835 (*Plate 21*); Peter Sullenger, born c. 1769, died 1835 (*Plate 22*); King Hazel, born 1788, died 1837 (*Plate 23*).

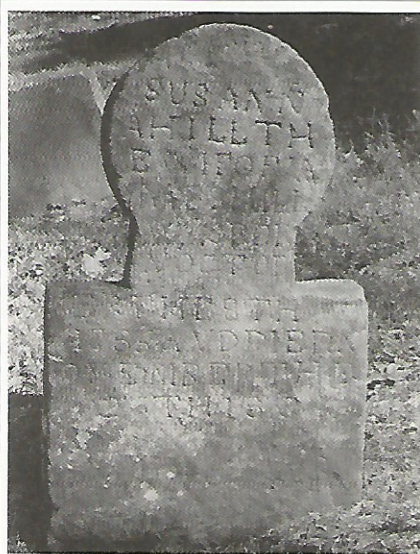
Precise information regarding the place of residence or familial relationships for James and Susanna Hill is not available at this writing. A James Hill appears in the 1820 and 1830 Pope County censuses and as a voter in Massac precinct in 1828. At this time we are assuming this is the same James Hill buried in Hazel Cemetery.

King Hazel arrived in Pope County c. 1806 from Tennessee by way of Kentucky and probably squatted later on the 40 acres on which the cemetery is located. The first recorded land entry indicates King C. Hazel, King's son, owned the property in 1855.

Peter Sullenger was born in North Carolina, spent some time in Tennessee, and then moved to Livingston County, Kentucky. Marriage records in Livingston County indicate he married Hazel Prince in 1802, then married Patsey May in 1813. In the land records of Pope County he first appears on Grand Pierre Creek before March 3, 1807 as an assignee of Samuel McClure. Although we were unable to find land entries in Peter's name, Roger G. Sullenger entered land just a mile south of Hazel Cemetery in 1837 (*Map 5*). Perhaps he was a son or brother of Peter's. Peter is the great-great-grandfather of Leonard Farmer of Elizabethtown.



Map 5. Ragsdale and Hazel cemeteries and land holdings.



SUSANN
A HILL TH
E WIF OF J
MESHILL
WAS BOR
N OCTO
BER THE 8TH
1786 AND DIED N
OVEMBER THE
25TH 1834

Plate 19. Gravestone of Susanna Hill.



Plate 20. Gravestone of Susanna Hill showing footstone.

King Hazel's simple epitaph provides a glimpse of frontier religion because "the assurance of immortal bliss" was, of course, the heavenly utopia promised by frontier preachers to potential converts and church members. In brief, one began life as a sinner, and remained in that condition until one experienced the saving power of religion through the



JAMES HILL WAS
BORN JULY THE 8
TH 1783 AND DIED
JANUARY THE 4TH
1835

Plate 21. Gravestone of James Hill.

process of conversion which culminated in assurance.

A Methodist preacher, John Hagerty, briefly described his conversion and the resulting state of "assurance" in the following letter:

When I was on my knees crying to God for a full Deliverance I heard a voice inwardly say, "I have sealed the pardon of thy sins with my blood." I felt the truth of it in my heart and in a moment prayer was turned into praise. I wanted all the world to help me praise my god. In a few moments I fell prostrate before the Lord [and] determined not [to] rise until I knew the Lord had pardoned me and in a little while the same words were imprest on my mind more strongly than before. I was more assured of his forgiving love and enjoyed much peace in believing I now thought I never should sin more. My mind was taken up with God, and I convers'd with Him as a Man with his Friend. My confidence was unshaken and my hope full of immortality.

The Dixon Springs area is an historical enigma. Its abundant springs made the area attractive to early settlement and



PETER SULLENG
ER WAS BORN SE
PTEMBER THE
26TH 17AND D
IED MAY THE
17TH 1835

Plate 22. Gravestone of Peter Sullenger.



KING HAZEL WAS
BORN AUGUST
THE 20 1788
AND DEPARTED
THIS LARRIL THE 18 1837
AND DIED IN ASSURENCE
OF IMMORTAL BLISS

Plate 23. Gravestone of King Hazel.

the sweet cold water, still flowing today, must have been a welcome treat to travelers along the two major roads that crossed at the springs. Yet our knowledge of the early history around the springs is sparse. Three churches, the Dixon Springs Methodist founded in 1856, a Christian church, and another of unknown denomination, still stand in Dixon Springs State Park just north of Hazel Cemetery. This many churches and a sizable cemetery suggest a considerable concentration of population in the past.

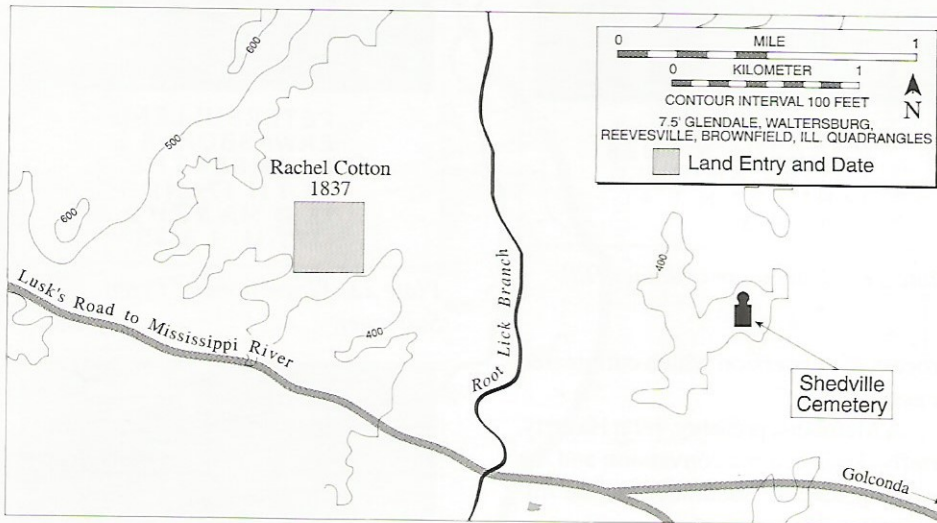
Shedville Cemetery

Many people refer to this as the Slankard Cemetery, named after an extensive family that was contemporaneous with the nearby Hazel family and which married into the Cotton family.

A near-record cedar tree dominates this beautiful hilltop burying ground that is still being used (*Map 6*). The 1876 Pope County map shows a sawmill, a gristmill, and a schoolhouse in close proximity, indicating an early rural

neighborhood settlement. The cemetery is about three miles east of Hazel Cemetery. Elias Cotton is buried here, born 1796, died 1836 (*Plate 24*).

The latest recorded death date for an effigy marker in our sample is that of Mary Hays, born 1830, died 1851 (*Plate 25*). Both stones face west. Unlike other markers, the sandstone from which this marker is made is banded in various shades of brown and tan. Also, it may have been harder, as the marginal edge in some places is slightly concave.



Map 6. Shedville Cemetery and land holdings.



1836
ELIAS COTTON
DP this LIFE SP^TX
the 17 th
SON OF
YOUNG &
DELILAH
COTTON
AGED 40
YeS

Plate 24. Gravestone of Elias Cotton.



1830
MARY HAYE
WOSBORN 12
AUGUST AND
DIDE JUNE
THT 1
1851

Plate 25. Gravestone of Mary Hays.

Qualls Cemetery

This cemetery is located five miles southeast of the Hazel Cemetery. Also known as the Ditterline Cemetery, it is the final resting place of John Ditterline II (*Plates 26 and 27*). Several years ago, John's anthropomorphic stone was moved to Cole Springs Baptist Church graveyard in Temple Hill and placed alongside the graves of other family members. We were unable to visit the original cemetery but its location was given to us by local residents (*Map 7*).

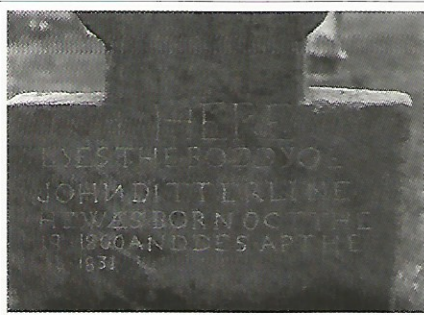
John's marker is carefully made; the workmanship and sandstone matches the gravestones at the Cannaday-Ellis and Hazel cemeteries. This evidence is consistent with a tight cluster of death dates at the three cemeteries ranging from 1830 to 1839 and suggests a single carver.

As we scanned the graveyard at Temple Hill looking for the distinctive silhouette we had been told was there, we spotted John's marker. Drawing near, we were startled to see on John's stone Jane Henderson Ellis' epitaph (*Plate 8*), complete and legible. At last a gravestone had spoken to us!

PRINCES THIS CLAY MUST BE YOUR BED
IN SPITE OF ALL YOUR TOWERS
THE TALL THE WISE THE REVEREND
MUST LIE AS LOW AS OURS



Plate 26. Epitaph of John Ditterline II.



HERE
LYESTHEBODDYOF
JOHN DITTERLINE
HE WAS BORN OCTTHE
19 1800 AND DES AP THE
16 1831

Plate 27. Gravestone of John Ditterline II.

After finding Jane's stone and epitaph in November of 1993, we sent a sample of the fragmentary verse to the AGS Newsletter in hopes that someone could complete her verse. Before we got our copy of the newsletter, history professor Bruce S. Elliot of Carleton University, Ottawa Canada, quickly responded:

"I recorded a similar verse in the St. Isadore Roman Catholic Cemetery near South March, Carleton County, Ontario:

LETTIE SISSONS
wife of
John Kelly
Died Apr. 2, 1900
AE. 75 Yrs.

*Hark from the tomb a doleful
sound My ears attend the cry
Ye living men come view the ground
Where you must shortly lie.
Princes, that clay will be your bed
In spite of all your powers,
The great the tall the reverend
head Will be as low as ours*

I've always thought the verse was particularly fitting as these Irish Catholics lived in a township long dominated by emigrant British gentry. Lettie Sissons in fact was of English parentage, but Catholic, and married to an Irishman. I don't know where the verse comes from originally, but note that you think your manifestation of it dates to the 1830s. The first four lines are far more familiar on gravestones, and someone once told me that they are credited to Isaac Watts, the English hymn writer."

Following Professor Elliot's lead we checked a reference to the hymns of Isaac Watts (1674-1748) and found "A Funeral Thought" in The Works of the Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D. D., published in 1810. The hymn in its entirety follows:

A Funeral Thought.

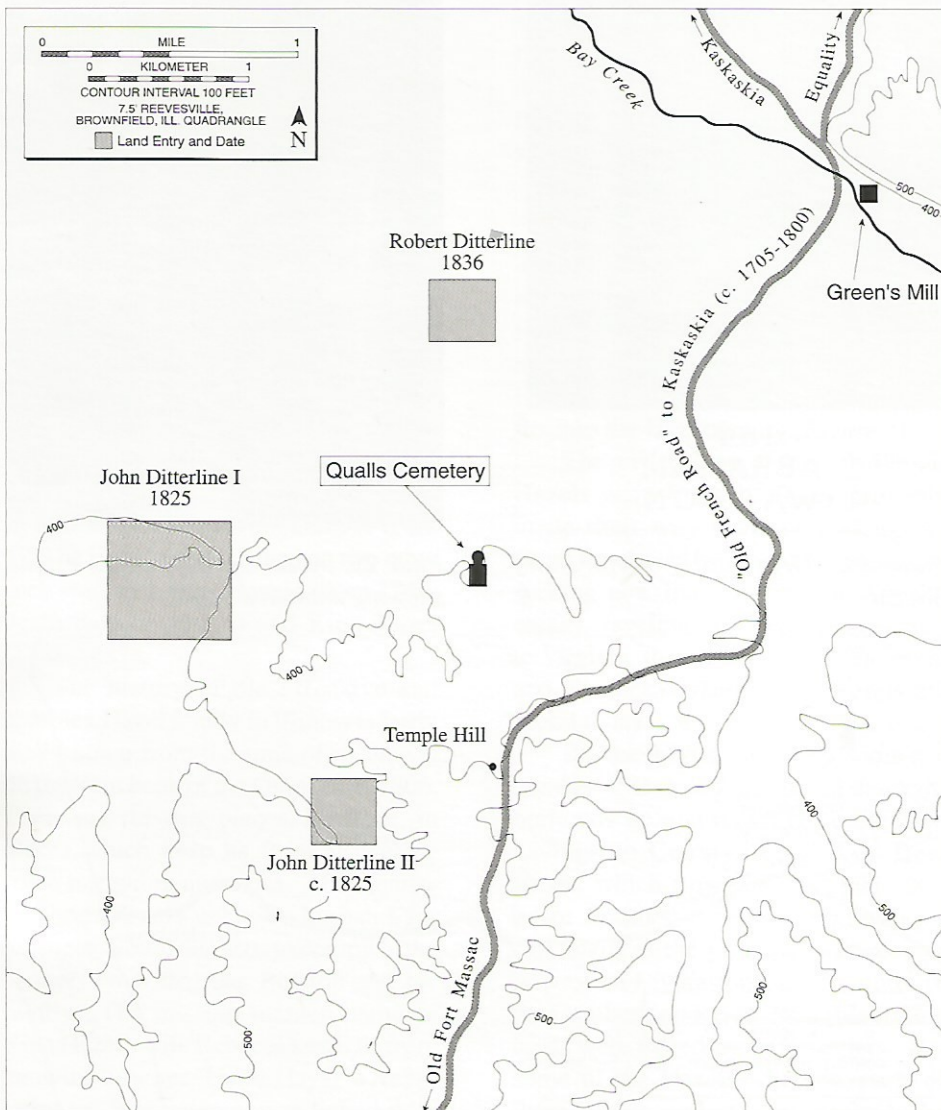
I.
*Hark! from the tombs a doleful sound,
My ears attend the cry,
Ye living men, come view the ground
Where you must shortly lie.*

II.
*Princes, this clay must be your bed,
In spite of all your towers;
The tall, the wise, the reverend head
Must lie as low as ours.*

III.
*Great God, is this our certain doom?
And are we still secure?
Still walking downward to our tomb,
And yet prepare no more?*

IV.
*Grant us the powers of quickening
grace
To fit our souls to fly,
Then, when we drop this dying flesh,
We'll rise above the sky.*

In the introduction to Watts' Reliquiae Juveniles, published in 1734, English literature scholar Samuel J. Rogal gives us a glimpse of Watts the theologian and hymnographer, and perhaps a glimpse of the religious attitudes of our Pope County subjects:



Map 7. Qualls Cemetery and land holdings.

By 1707 (the publication date of his *Horae Lyricae*), English nonconformity had only recently managed to survive persecution and suffering, yet its followers had not been able to attain social respectability. Even the affluent Dissenters who worshiped in Watts' church at Stoke Newington were humble souls and possessed, understandably, dogged loyalty and narrow convictions. These persons comprised his audience; they sang his hymns and listened to his sermons. Watts "doggedly" concentrated on this level of nonconformity—"vulgar Christians. . . the meanest of 'em." But throughout this concentration he also developed an honest sympathy for plain people and a call to provide them with verse—especially hymns and religious poems—on the level of the unpoetic mind.

In 1662 approximately 2000 ministers, known as Dissenters, left the Church of England and formed independent churches. Although the congregations contained persons of all socioeconomic classes, the majority were plain or common people.

"Princes" with all their "towers" is about the social and economic inequalities that set John Ditterline's ancestors on a journey of over 3000 miles. It was a journey that would end for John in the heart of a new continent with a message on his gravestone that alluded to those old inequalities and promised that death would finally ensure equality for all.

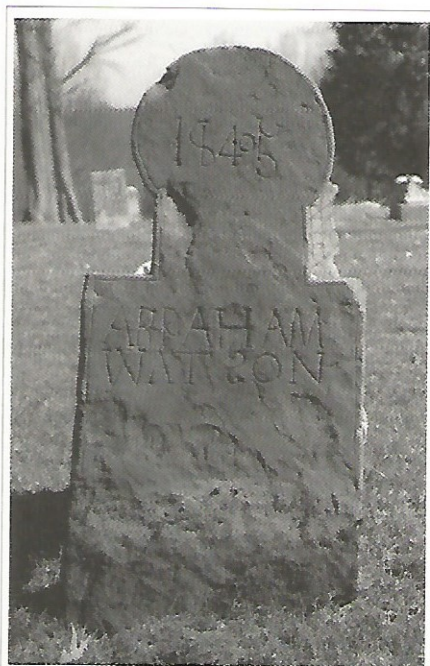
Auterbein Cemetery

Labeled as the Audubon Cemetery on the U.S.G.S. topographic map, the cemetery is known locally as Auterbein, named after a family that once lived in the area. Located approximately 14 miles southeast of Temple Hill and three miles west of Hamletsburg (Map 8), Abraham Watson's gravestone (Plate 28) faces west and the county road that divides the old part of the cemetery from the new. Nearby residents said that there

had been a variety of church denominations using the small frame church on the west side of the road in recent years but that it was not being used at the present time.

The head and neck area of the gravestone has been smoothed while the lower 19 inches of the face are unaltered, exhibiting the same rough surface as the back of the stone (Plate 29). A shallow marginal groove one quarter of an inch from the edge of the stone borders the body of the marker. The stone measures 45 inches in total length.

The fanciful rendering of the date is amusing and the top on the five may represent the "ty" in forty.

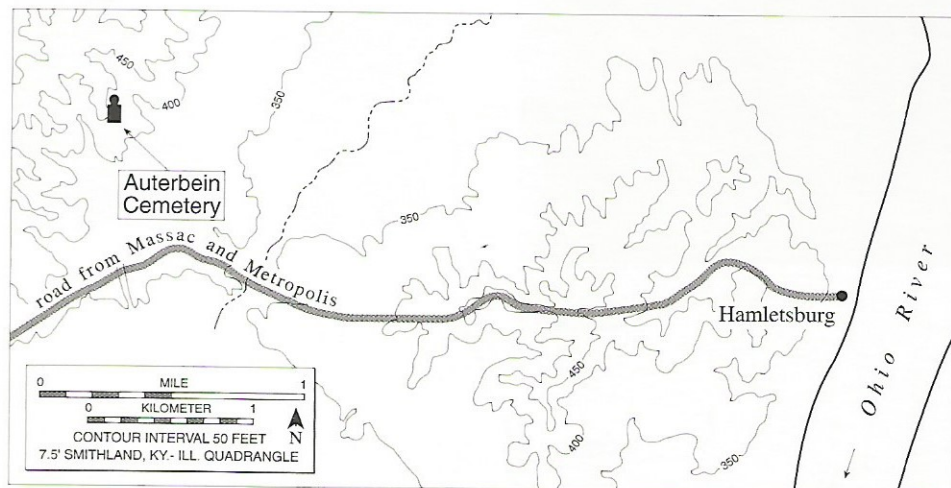


1845
ABRAHAM
WATSON

Plate 28. Gravestone of Abraham Watson.



Plate 29. Abraham Watson gravestone showing unaltered back.



Map 8. Auterbein Cemetery and land holdings.

THE FAMILIES

Moving west with old neighbors and marrying close to home.

The settling and populating of Pope County took place essentially from 1798 through the first three decades of the 1800s. The families who chose southeastern Illinois as their destination represented, for that area, the culmination of an intricate process of westward movement primarily from the Upland South -- the Virginias, western North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

Many of the 18th century lifeways and social traits of that region were brought to southeastern Illinois, where they persisted well into the 1800s, some of them even longer. Among these was a long-standing pattern of nuclear families linking by marriage, with the effect, as David H. Fischer puts it, of "binding scattered settlements through a system of interlocking networks." That pattern was very much a part of

Pope County life during the early 1800s, and later.

When we began our investigation of the effigy-style gravestones and the families they represented, we had no knowledge of the connections among the subject families. The 13 family names at first seemed random and unrelated. Gradually, however, there emerged a picture of extensive ties and interrelationships, some of them so complicated that they could not be detailed within the limits of this publication.

In the family diagrams we have tried to maximize clarity by showing, space permitting, all persons of a given generation horizontally on the same line, including spouses. In a few instances, however, the numbers are too many, in which cases we use the alternative device of placing spouses over-under (with a side link

to indicate the marriage) rather than adjacently as preferred.

Although our surveys and searches for reconstructing the various family histories have been thorough and in certain cases exhaustive, it would have been impossible to carry individual family studies to their potential limits. More than a hundred family names and several hundred individuals came into the picture. Not all of them, of course, are represented here, but we have included as many as possible.

As you read these family histories, you will begin to see many of the connecting threads, the coincidences that are in fact much more than coincidental. Note the players and remember the names: you will meet many of them more than a few times as their lives pass by.

Hazel Family

The oldest of the 23 human-effigy-shaped gravestones known in Pope County bears the name of Rhoda Hazel, who died in July of 1810 at the age of only 23, only two or three years after her marriage to a member of the Hazel family whose name we do not know (*Figure 1*). The Hazel name is found on two other such stones: Daniel Hazel I (born 1746; death date uncertain) and King Hazel (1788-1837).

The history of the extensive and complex Hazel family in Illinois is fairly well known from the time of its arrival on the right bank of the Ohio about 1806. There are missing pieces, however, in places which keep us from answering some intriguing questions. The identity of Rhoda Hazel's unknown husband, for example, would allow us to complete the connection with Isaac Rolston and his family. The missing maiden name of King Hazel's wife Rebecca keeps us from knowing how her "Uncle Hays," a Revolutionary War veteran, was linked with the Hazel family (we know only that he

was probably the Robert Hays who was much involved, like a number of other Hazel in-laws, in various Hazel family matters). And we don't know how Nancy Hazel, who married John Ditterline II, fits into the Hazel family (*Figure 3*).

The predecessors of the early Illinois Hazels were English. They probably made their way southwest along the Great Road used by most other emigrants seeking new lives beyond the Appalachians, traveling from the upper colonies to Virginia, then moving into Tennessee and Kentucky where many Hazels are found today.

By the 1790s, probably sooner, a number of Hazels were settled in neighborhoods up and down Deer Creek in Livingston County, Kentucky. Deer Creek, which flows into the Ohio at a point about nine river miles above Golconda, is the principal watercourse in western Livingston County north of the Cumberland River. Its fertile rolling lands were prized by early settlers. But some of the Hazels who saw parts of Pope County, perhaps during trips to the Gallatin salines, liked the Illinois land.

By 1806, according to that year's "Memorial of Sundry Inhabitants" of Pope, some of them had crossed the Ohio to stay.

According to squatters lists for 1807, three Hazels were living by that time as family heads in the area of Hays Creek east of Millstone Bluff and present-day Glendale (*Maps 3 and 4*). They were Richard Hazel, Daniel Hazel I, and Daniel Hazel II.

The elder Daniel helped found the town of Smithland, Kentucky (at the mouth of the Cumberland River opposite Hamletsburg), between 1797 and 1803. Soon after that, when he was about 50, he moved to Pope County, evidently with his father or brother Richard. His grave is at the extreme east end of Ragsdale Cemetery, where his effigy gravestone, broken, leans against a tree. His death date inscription does not appear on the surviving portion, and the year of his death is unknown. The words "Daniel Hazel son of Richard and Marget" and the birth date (1746) are visible, but the death year inscription is broken away and missing.

Of Richard Hazel, ancestor of the Pope County Hazels, little is known. The name appears in Livingston County records in 1799. It also is found in various transactions later, well into the 1820s, most recently in the Deer Creek area. A Richard Hazel, father or brother of Daniel I and grandfather or uncle of Daniel II, Samuel H. and King Hazel, clearly was in Pope County according to land-related records dated 1807 and 1808. In fact, an 1808 petition for preemption rights to squatted land includes five Hazels: Richard, Daniel I, Daniel II, Samuel, and King. The youngest of these appears to have been Samuel, then only 18. His brother King was 20.

Various records show that some of these earliest Hazels, who settled first in what is now the Glendale-Eddyville area, migrated southward before 1818 and populated an area about Dixon Springs. King Hazel had gone there early enough to acquire a quarter section immediately south of the springs and then sell it to Robert Hays in October of 1817 (*Map 5*). King may have settled and lived on a 40-acre tract which included the popular springs (originally called Sulphur Springs and later Allen Springs, Resort, and finally Dixon Springs). His name does not appear in records for that tract but his son King C. Hazel (1817-1880) took title to the same land in 1855.

Included within that 40 acres was the Hazel family cemetery which became today's Hazel Cemetery, site of the graves of the Hills, a number of Hazels, and family friend and relative by marriage Peter Sullenger.

Samuel H. Hazel in 1825 took title to a quarter section of land on the "Old French Road," which a century earlier connected French settlements at Massac and Kaskaskia. Samuel's land was adjacent to the site of his father's grave immediately to the west. But because the death date of Daniel I is missing, we don't know whether his burial there was before or after his son took up the nearby land. The site may have been a family burial ground or one associated with a nearby Sugar Creek church.

Sally Hazel, sister of King, Samuel and probably Daniel II, was married in 1830 to a James N. Hill. Whether he was the same James Hill buried in Hazel Cemetery is not entirely certain. If so,

then Sally apparently died within a few years after the marriage, since James was buried next to Susanna Hill, whose gravestone declared her to be the wife of James at the time of her death in 1834. The graves of James Hill, Susanna Hill, and King Hazel are near one another in Hazel Cemetery, each marked with an effigy stone. Sally Hazel's burial site is unknown, and so is that of Daniel Hazel II.

King Hazel was one of probably as many as four or five children of Daniel I. His siblings included Sally, Samuel, and evidently Daniel II and Margaret (although these latter two have not been documented). King clearly was a central figure in the large extended Hazel family from the time of its arrival about 1806 until his death in 1837. King's time in Pope County was divided between two neighborhoods, earlier up east of Glendale where he spent at least a decade, and later at Dixon Springs where he lived another 20 or so years. Thus he came to know many people in both parts of the county, as illustrated by his sizeable probate file which contains numerous transactional items involving people throughout both areas as well as the Golconda vicinity.

King Hazel and his immediate kin became substantial landowners about Dixon Springs, where he was not only a farmer but at various times also a postmaster, a storekeeper, and possibly a miller. His name appears in election poll lists of 1816 and 1828, and numerous other times in county records between 1816 and the early 1830s variously as road hand, road district supervisor, road hand warner, fence viewer, petit juror and grand juror. His ownership of eight horses as early as 1818 indicates his relative wealth (only two others in the area had more: Isaac Wilcox and Robert Hays).

At the time of his death in 1837 King Hazel still owned six horses, six cows and calves, three bulls, a yoke of oxen, one lot of hogs, and 21 sheep. His estate auction brought a total of \$635, a large amount for the time. His "heirs, executors, and administrators jointly severally and firmly" were Rebecca (his widow), a brother Samuel, Roger Sullenger, George W. Beaty (possibly a son-in-law), and Isham Clay. Debtors to the estate included George Cotton, Caleb Slankard

and Alford M. Hazel (a son) jointly, Robert Hays and George W. Beaty jointly, and Rebecca Hazel and Alford M. Hazel jointly.

King Hazel's burial, in April of 1837, was in Hazel Cemetery close by his long-time home. It is marked with a carefully-made effigy stone.

Rolston Family

We first saw the gravestone of Isaac Rolston in the last light of a chill November afternoon. It was barely visible amid old logging slash, blackberry vines, and deadfall on a north foot of Millstone Bluff. Part of the broken effigy stone leaned against a tree; another part was lying nearby, hidden by leaves. A similar stone, also broken, inscribed with the name Rhoda Hazel, leaned against another tree several yards away. Between them were two grave depressions.

That afternoon it seemed impossible that we would ever be able to discover who Isaac Rolston was, or why he was buried at a place that felt so isolated. Nor could we imagine learning who Rhoda Hazel could have been.

After our first encounter with the two graves at Millstone, gradually it became evident that some special connection had existed between Isaac Rolston and the Hazel family. We found that both had moved from Livingston County, Kentucky, into southeastern Illinois at very nearly the same time. We noted the appearance in Pope County probate records of Isaac Henry Hazel (a son of King Hazel) serving in 1855 as administrator of the estate of a "Nancy Rawlston" whose connection with the Hazels was left unexplained (*Figure 1*).

Later we came upon a letter folded among the loose papers of the King Hazel estate file. It was from the U.S. Pension Office, dated October 2, 1851, and addressed only to "Sir:"

I return herewith the letter of Mr Rowan and have the honor to inform you that from the statement contained therein of the Revolutionary services of Capt. Rolston, it is believed that his widow is entitled to a pension.

A search of the Index of Revolutionary War Pension Applications revealed this entry: "ROLSTON, Isaac, Cont., N.C., Nancy." Then in a register of Revolutionary officers we found "Rolston, Isaac (N.C.). Ensign 2d North Carolina, 8th June 1776; 1st Lieutenant, January, 1777." (The register designation "Cont., N.C." means that he served in both the Continental and the State regiments and that he was a resident of North Carolina.)

These discoveries left no doubt that the "Nancy Rawlston" who died in December of 1854, and whose estate was administered by Isaac H. Hazel, was the same Nancy who three years earlier applied for a widow's pension for the services of her husband Isaac Rolston.

The earliest Rolston origins in the East are not known. Isaac's family probably moved to North Carolina from the upper colonies before the mid-1700s, as did the Scotts, Ellises, Sullengers, and others who later made their way westward until they found homes in Pope County, Illinois. Isaac's boyhood home was in Greene County near the Pamlico River, which flows into Pamlico Sound on the east coast of North Carolina.

After the outbreak of the American Revolution, Isaac Rolston at age 25 joined in the effort to organize volunteer companies, contributing money of his own to support the cause. His enlistment was on June 8, 1776, just 26 days before Congress declared the independence of

the Thirteen Colonies, in a time of desperation and bleak prospects.

Isaac mustered into the Continental Army as an ensign "in Captain Hall's Company of the Second Regiment." In the following January he was made a second lieutenant. His 2nd North Carolina regiment spent the bitter winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge, and left there in June, 1778, to participate in various actions in the White Plains and West Point area of New York through 1779.

During that time Isaac was promoted to the rank of captain and placed in command of a company in "a squadron of Dragoons or mounted men or cavalry under the command of Col. [William] Washington." Washington's squadron, typically about 80 cavalymen, was prominent in a number of engagements, particularly in North and South Carolina in 1781. As the war came to its final stages Isaac Rolston saw action in crucial battles at Cowpens, Guilford (the war's second bloodiest confrontation), Camden, and Eutaw Springs.

More than seven decades later, in a pension application deposition, Nancy Rolston recalled her husband talking of his being in the battle of Guilford Court-house in March of 1781:

The night after the battle the two armies lay close together and him and Captain Philips rode over the battleground that night to the meet-

inghouse where the wounded were lying. In one of the other battles he had his horse shot under him and another time his sword belt was torn with a shot. He was with the American Army at Charleston [and] in divers of other battles and skirmishes during the war . . . pretty much in the south."

Another deponent, John Whiteside, a neighbor of the Rolstons and Hazels in Pope County, spoke of Isaac Rolston's "earnest and straightforward way of narrating and telling his suffering and distresses" during the war.

Captain Isaac Rolston served his country through seven years until the end of the war. He was discharged honorably in North Carolina in 1783, and returned to his home in Greene County.

Our study of the 130-page pension file tells us that Isaac Rolston, 33, and Nancy McAdowe were married in September of 1784 in Greene County, at the home of neighbors about ten miles from "the new town of Washington." Nancy, born August 6, 1764, was a daughter of John and Ann McAdowe. Among those present at the wedding was Robert, a brother of Isaac (who apparently did not later move from North Carolina). The wedding was performed by James Keel, a Baptist minister.

Soon after their marriage Isaac and Nancy made plans to leave North Caro-

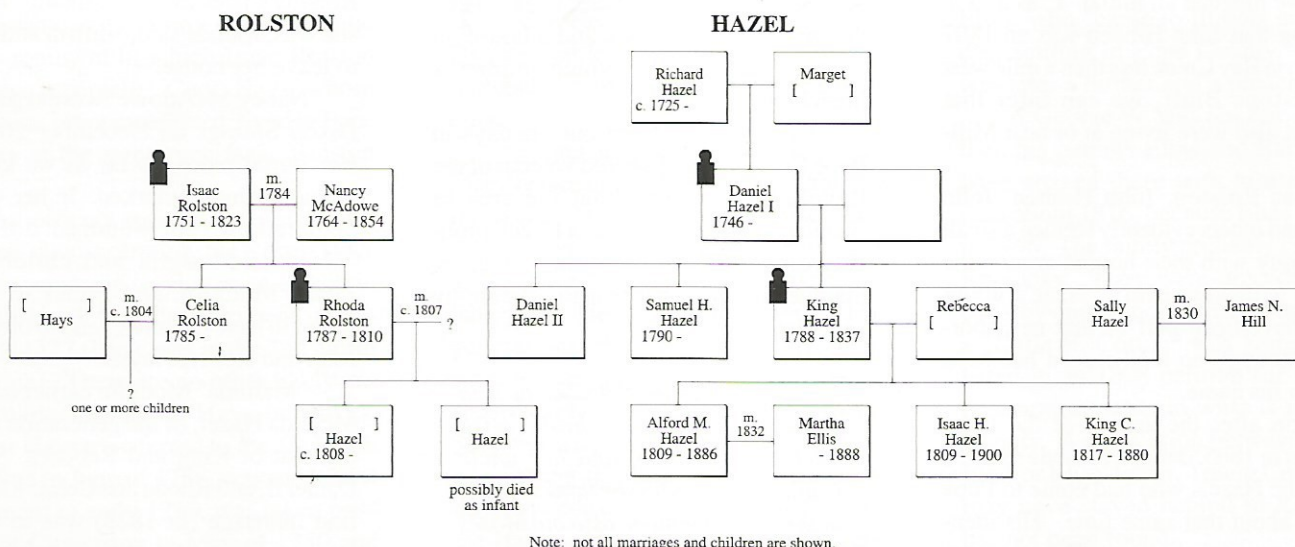


Figure 1. Rolston-Hazel family relationships and partial genealogy.

lina and make a new home in Kentucky. Their move probably was not made until after the births of two daughters: Celia, born July 9, 1785, and Rhoda, born April 15 or 30, 1787. Eventually the family resettled in Livingston County, Kentucky, where they found new friends among other pioneer families including the Hayses, Sullengers, Scotts, and Hazels. In that county some time about 1804 Celia Rolston married a Hays whose given name, left unmentioned in the records, may have been John.

Isaac Rolston was listed in the tax records of Livingston County in 1804, when he was 53. Soon after that he decided to move with his family into Illinois. Trail mentions him as an "early Cache County pioneer," and the pension file indicates that the Rolstons arrived in Pope County in 1805, about the same time several of the Hazels and Hayses came there as well. By 1806 or 1807 all three families were well represented within four or five miles eastward from Millstone Bluff along Hayes Creek: Richard Hazel, Daniel Hazel I, Daniel Hazel II, King Hazel, John Hays, Robert Hays, Rachel Hays, Isaac Rolston, and possibly William Rolston and Shadrack Rolston (*Maps 3 and 4*).

The latter two (whose relationship to Isaac is not known) appear in the 1808 petition for preemption rights as William Ralston and Shadrack Raulston, both acceptable variations of the name. They may have been located in the lower Bay Creek area. In the 1810 census a J. Rolston was listed in the upper "Big Bay" area adjacent to J. Hebbens [Hibben] (a transcriber may have misread an initial "I" as a "J"). Knowing that John Hibben was an 1807 squatter on Bay Creek less than a mile west of Millstone Bluff, we can infer that Rolstons also were living at or near Millstone.

Isaac Rolston, John Hibben, John Wood and others evidently formed a small community with their houses around the base of Millstone Bluff. Isaac's house would have been part of that neighborhood, although no land record has been found in his name.

Soon after the arrival of the Isaac Rolstons in 1805, daughter Rhoda married one of the Hazels who had come to Pope County about that same time. His identity is not revealed in any of the pension or other documents we have studied, but

of those newly-arrived Hazels known to us, of that generation, only two seem eligible: Richard (a possible son or grandson of an elder Richard Hazel of Kentucky) and Daniel II, brother of King and Samuel H. Hazel. Both by 1807 were living within four miles east of Millstone Bluff.

Rhoda Hazel in her new marriage must have lived somewhere near her parents and also near her sister, Celia Hays, in the area along Hayes Creek. Rhoda and her husband had two children, whose names are not known (one of them was said to have been living in 1852).

The marriage was sadly brief. Rhoda Hazel died on July 14, 1810, possibly in childbirth. She was buried at the north foot of Millstone Bluff not far from Bay Creek. Her grave was marked with a human-shaped effigy stone carved from a slab of sandstone found nearby. It was the first of its kind, so far as we know, to have been made in Pope County.

A second gravestone, small, plain, and uninscribed, at some unknown time was placed to mark a grave close by Rhoda's. It was reported to have been seen there in the 1940s but has since disappeared. Its small size would signify the burial of a child, perhaps a Hazel infant that did not survive.

Isaac and Nancy Rolston continued to live in the Millstone neighborhood. Isaac was listed in an 1816 election poll list, and in 1818 the Pope County census showed him residing as head of a household by Millstone. With him in 1818, when he was 67, were two other persons. An 1817 tax list shows Isaac to have been the owner of two horses and a house on "waters of the Bay," which implies a branch of Bay Creek.

Isaac Rolston lived out his days in Pope County as an honored veteran of the Revolution, known about the area as "Captain Rolston." Rebecca Hazel, probably a niece of Isaac's by marriage, remembered him in her pension testimony years later:

...from the repeated talks the said Captain Rolston had with [Rebecca's] father, and her uncle Captain Hays, who she thinks served in the same regiment, also old Moses Shelby who had been a captain or colonel, and a Mr. Daniel. These old

men would get together and in her presence would talk and as it were fight their battles over, tell their sufferings and the dangers they encountered.

Captain Isaac Rolston died in early December of 1823 in his seventy-third year. His body was carried back to Millstone Bluff, where his grave was placed only a few feet from the spot where his daughter Rhoda had been buried 13 years earlier. A considerable number of his family and friends -- King and Rebecca Hazel, George and Nancy Vaughn, and others -- gathered there near Bay Creek to honor Isaac's memory. His grave was marked with an effigy stone very much like the one that had been made for Rhoda.

Nancy Rolston lived near Dixon Springs for many years, probably with one of the Hazel families after she could no longer be alone. In 1851, when she learned of Federal provisions for pensions for the widows of Revolutionary officers, she made her application with the help of friends and relatives. The process dragged on through nearly three years of bureaucratic delays, errors, changes, misplaced documents, and inattention. Friends and family gave court testimony in her behalf on four successive occasions between August of 1851 and March of 1852. At last, in September of 1852, her pension was granted at the rate of \$320 per year. It was increased to \$326 following an extended effort by her Washington attorney to prove Isaac Rolston's later rank of captain. By then she was, friends said, "infirm and unable to leave her house."

Nancy McAdowe Rolston died near Dixon Springs on December 26, 1854. Her burial place, as far as we know, is unknown and unmarked. In her will she bequeathed four hundred dollars to "Malinda Modglin and children and James Modglin, and James C. Hazel, James to have the most," and to other heirs John and Robert Hays.

"Malinda" Modglin earlier had been Melinda Hazel, of the generation following that of King and Rebecca, Samuel, Daniel II, and Rhoda and Celia. Melinda's first marriage (in 1823) was to George Beaty, and together they had a daughter, Roda or Rhoda, who almost certainly was

named after Rhoda Hazel. Melinda's connection with the Hazel family is as yet undocumented, but we know that she was born in 1808, the year during which Rhoda Hazel would have been most likely to have had her first child. That fact, and the name she chose for her daughter, strongly suggests that she was the surviving child of Rhoda Rolston Hazel and granddaughter of Isaac and Nancy Rolston of North Carolina and Illinois.

Hays Family

Like many of the names which came to southeastern Illinois about the turn of the 1800s, Hays appears frequently in western Kentucky records of the latter 1700s. The first Hayeses in Pope County settled in the area east of Glendale where Hayes Creek flows prominently from the Eddyville area past Glendale into upper Bay Creek (*Map 3*).

The creek probably was named by or for an early Hays (the spelling of the name in records can be Hays, Hayes, Hase, or Haze). The 1807 Pope squatters list includes three: John, Rachel, and Robert, all of whom settled within two miles of one another. Their neighbors included three early Hazels (Richard, Daniel I, and Daniel II), as well as some Cannadays, Pennys, and possibly Rolstons.

In testimony given by Rebecca Hazel (wife of King Hazel) in support of Nancy Rolston's pension application, Rebecca mentions an uncle of hers, "Capt. Hays," who she believed served in the same state militia or Continental Army regiment in which Isaac Rolston was also a captain. Capt. Hays, whose first name is not mentioned, lived in Pope County at the same time Isaac Rolston did.

An officers register entry indicates this was almost certainly the Robert Hays listed as entering service as an ensign in the 4th North Carolina regiment in August of 1777 (Isaac was in the 2nd North Carolina). There are no other likely entries under the name Hays or Hayes. Robert Hays transferred to the 1st North Carolina in June of 1788, was made first lieutenant in early 1780, was taken prisoner at Charleston in May of 1780 and was exchanged in June of 1781. He

served until the close of the war, and eventually moved westward to settle in Kentucky, then in Pope County.

What is not clear is by what connection Robert Hays was an uncle of Rebecca Hazel. One possibility is that he was a brother of the wife (whose name we have not found) of King Hazel's father Daniel I. Rebecca simply may have been a Hays herself, except that a Hazel family history indicates that her last-name initial was S. Whatever the means, the Hazels and Hayeses were linked by marriage and closely associated in Livingston and Pope counties.

In Pope County some of the Hazels and Hayeses soon migrated southward. In 1817 Robert Hays acquired land earlier held by King Hazel immediately south of Hazel Cemetery and Dixon Springs (*Map 5*), and he became a member of a community which included Cottons, Sullengers, Slankards, Beatys, and possibly Watsons.

The Hays family was closely connected with the Rolstons and the Hazels. A study of Isaac Rolston's Revolutionary pension file reveals that Isaac and his wife Nancy had two daughters, one of whom (Celia) married a Hays in Kentucky before the Rolstons moved from there to Pope County in 1805. The new husband came with the family.

The grave of Mary Hase (Hays) is marked with an effigy stone which bears the latest death date among all those found so far. It was carved 15 years after that of Elias Cotton, the only other marker of its kind in Shedville Cemetery, and 14 years after the last effigy stone was placed at Hazel Cemetery three miles to the west. Despite that long interval, her stone is a reasonably faithful version of the earlier ones.

Nothing has been found yet to clarify Mary's place in the Hays family. Although the name "Hase" appears on one other nearby stone, neither it nor other markers at Shedville help tell us who Mary may have been. Her birth year places her two generations after that of Robert Hays, whose name appears often in various records related to the Dixon Springs-Shedville vicinity.

During the 1820s, 1830s, and after, there was considerable interaction among the Hayeses, Cottons, Hazels, Sullengers, and others who lived about Dixon Springs.

After the death of Elias Cotton in November of 1836, Robert Hays attended the estate auction and bought a froe, a singletree, a pair of drawing chains, and some Irish potatoes. At the King Hazel estate sale seven months later he bought a kettle, a square and some chisels, and two plows. These auctions were and are still very much a part of the social life of rural communities; entire families usually attended. It's not improbable that six-year-old Mary Hays was present at the Cotton or Hazel sales, playing with friends.

Circumstances suggest a likely connection between Mary Hays and the Robert Hays family. She may have been a granddaughter or grandniece of Robert Hays. Or she may have been a Cotton who married a Hays, which could account for her burial somewhat apart from the Hays base and near the grave of Elias Cotton, who was her senior by one generation.

Whatever the relationships, certainly someone of her family remembered the specially-shaped gravestones made years earlier for neighbors King Hazel, Peter Sullenger, and Elias Cotton, and for some reason chose to have a similar stone carved to mark young Mary's grave.

Cotton Family

Elias Cotton and others of that family were well known in middle Pope County by 1820 and after. The 1893 *Biographical History* includes a sketch of James H. Cotton, a grandson of Elias. The sketch mentions George Washington Cotton, father of James and son of Elias, who "came to Illinois in an early day, settling in Pope County, where he was later a farmer and a preacher."

If George W. was not born in Pope, then his parents Elias and Rachel must have arrived there with him no earlier than about 1816, because Elias was born in 1796. The family probably came from Kentucky. They were preceded apparently by one or more other Cottons, since a "Little B. Cotton" was among names listed in an 1808 petition for squatters' preemption rights in what is now Pope County. A connection between him and Elias or Elias' father, Young Cotton (who may have stayed behind in Kentucky), has not been found.

Elias Cotton appears in the 1820

Federal census for Gallatin County but is not in the 1820 state census for either Gallatin or Pope. "E. Cotton," very likely Elias, is in an 1828 poll list among names which indicate a residence in the Dixon Springs-Shedville vicinity. Elias Cotton appears also in the 1830 Illinois census among others living about Shedville.

In January of 1836 Elias Cotton registered his cattlemark in Pope County. Only eight months later, on September 17, he died, and was buried in Shedville Cemetery, where his grave was marked with an effigy-style stone. His estate was administered by his wife Rachel and their son George W. Cotton.

It is evident from marriage and probate records that Elias Cotton and his family were closely involved in the life of the Dixon Springs-Shedville community. It appears also that their lives were not without troubles, as attested by an 1830 document headed "George W. Cotton vs [his father] Elias Cotton, Judgment for the Plaintiff, Constables Fees: For serving execution 50¢; advertising property for sale, 25¢; commission on sale \$2.16; serving second execution 50¢; advertising property for sale 25¢; commission on sale 90¢." After Elias' death in 1836 his son George presented a bill: "I have a clame for 28 days work 50 sents per day \$14." It was for "work done in trying to save tobacco" raised on the farm.

Elias Cotton incurred exceptionally high medical expenses during his final year or two. Dr. William Sim of Golconda claimed \$31.27 as of March of 1835, and Dr. John P. Hodges asked for \$16.50 related to Elias' "last illness." Those claims may have gone unpaid for some time. Elias's total property was valued at \$107; the auction brought \$98 and claims paid totaled \$60, leaving widow Rachel Cotton with \$38, some stock (a horse, 11 hogs, a cow and calf), a little furniture and a few other items.

Fifteen months later, in May of 1837, an original land entry was made

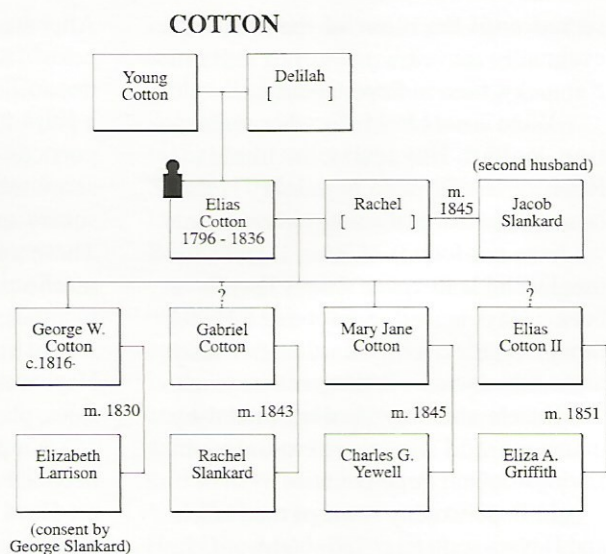


Figure 2. Cotton family relationships and partial genealogy.

by Rachel Cotton located a mile and a half west-northwest of Shedville Cemetery (*Map 6*). Since no land entries appear at any time in Elias' name, it seems possible that he and his family may have lived as squatters on the 40-acre tract through his entire adulthood in Pope County, and that Rachel finally entered title to that tract in the year following her husband's death. Rachel registered a cattlemark in the county on January 1, 1838, apparently continuing the affairs of the established farm.

In early 1839 a Caleb Cotton entered land northwest of Dixon Springs not far from Rachel. He could have been a son. Still another possible son was Gabriel Cotton, who married Rachel Slankard in July of 1843.

Rachel Cotton remarried in February of 1845 to Jacob Slankard, who also lived in the Dixon Springs area. Rachel and Jacob were consentors to the marriage of Mary Jane Cotton, a daughter of Elias and Rachel, to Charles G. Yewell in September of 1845.

Oddly, the name Elias Cotton appears in land entry records of 1854, 18 years after the death of the Elias buried in Shedville Cemetery. The entry is for 120 acres located in northeast Johnson County. This could have been another son, a nephew, or even a cousin who by the 1850s had left Pope County to live not far northwest of Millstone Bluff.

Hill Family

The graves of James Hill and Susanna Hill, in Hazel Cemetery near Dixon Springs, are those of husband and wife, as Susanna's inscription tells us. They died only eight months apart; their effigy stones are much alike in size and detail.

The name Hill is not found in the Pope County squatters lists nor in the original land entry lists, but at least two sizable families Hill were established in the area about Dixon Springs by 1820. James Hill appears in the Pope County censuses of 1818, 1820, and 1830, and in the poll lists of 1826 and 1828. The 1820 census name sequence (James D. Scott, a near neighbor, was in section 25, T13, R6 by 1817) seems to show James Hill living very close to Golconda at the time. In 1820 he was head of a family of eight besides himself.

In an 1828 poll list, James Hill's name appears as a voter and is crossed out as an election clerk. That poll appears to have been located at the residence of Moses Twitchell, who lived and voted apparently in the southerly "Massac Precinct." But a poll list two years earlier shows James Hill voting in "Munroe Precinct" in northeast Pope County, and that poll also was "at the house of Moses Twitsells Esq." On an 1818 map the legend "Twitchells' Mill" can be seen at a site southeast of Eddyville. It appears that both Twitchell and James Hill moved, perhaps while associated in business, between the two parts of the county.

But it was to the south, and Hazel Cemetery, to which both James and his wife Susanna were returned for burial.

Ditterline Family

There were two John Ditterlines early in Pope County. They were father and son, and it is necessary to differentiate them where the names appear in various records. The effigy gravestone now found at Temple Hill is that of the son, John II, who was born in Livingston County, Kentucky, in 1800, about ten or so years before his parents crossed the Ohio to settle in Illinois.

DITTERLINE

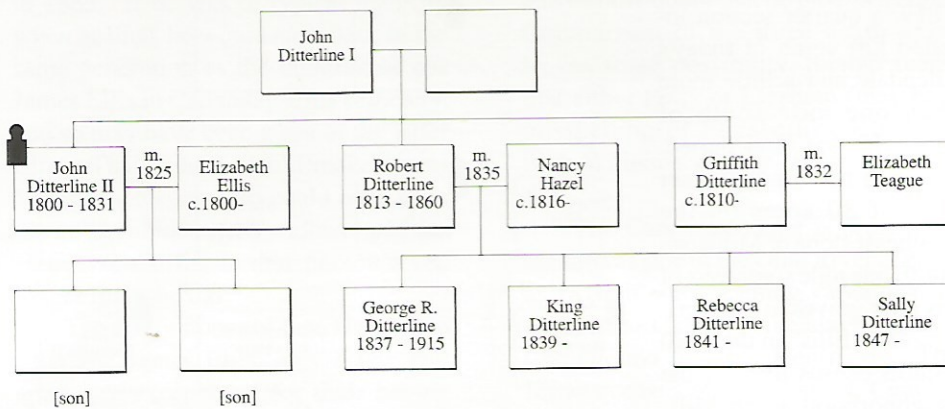


Figure 3. Ditterline family relationships and partial genealogy.

The elder John Ditterline appears in the 1810 census of Livingston County. His move to Pope County must have been soon after that; there is record of 160 acres of Pope land conveyed by him to James Ritchey in November of 1815. That quarter section was located entirely in the floodplain of lower Bay Creek, about two miles east of where Ditterline subsequently moved. It appears that after acquiring that tract on arrival in the area, John Ditterline I may have found the poorly-drained place not to his liking and soon looked for land somewhat more elevated. That turned out to be the 160 acres just west of present-day Temple Hill where he spent most of the rest of his long life (Map 7).

A bill of sale recorded in Pope County states that on December 18, 1816, John Ditterline (the elder) transferred rights to Mary, "a slave for life," to Thomas Ferguson (Golconda ferry operator) for \$500.00. Also in that December he registered his cattlemark.

Nearly two years later, in October of 1818, an original land entry shows John Ditterline I taking title to the 160 acres west of Temple Hill. At that time the younger John, at 18, probably was still at home helping with the work of the new farm. The father but not the son appears in the 1818 and 1820 censuses of Pope County. Finally, in 1828 we see the first evidence of record that there were two John Ditterlines: an election poll list includes the name on the first page, followed shortly by "J. Deterline Sr." on page two for the same day in the same precinct (Golconda).

The younger John Ditterline was

married in June of 1825 to Elizabeth Ellis. Probably soon after that the two took up land of their own near Temple Hill. Although no land record has been found specifically in the name of John II, a family history states "they homesteaded the land one-fourth mile west of Temple Hill . . . later known as the Martin Stokes place." A 40-acre Stokes property in the 1930s was exactly at that location.

John Ditterline II and his father both were listed in the 1830 census (only about eight months before John II was to die). The census tabulation shows that John and Elizabeth (Eliza) then had two sons both younger than five years. Their names are not known.

John Ditterline II had two younger brothers, Griffith, born in 1810, and Robert, in 1813 (it is possible that both were born in Kentucky just before the family moved). Robert married Nancy Hazel in Pope County in 1835 when she was about 19. We have been unable to discover Nancy's relationship to the large Hazel family in the area. The censuses and poll lists show that the Ditterlines and at least some of the Hazels were neighbors across lower Bay Creek bottoms and must have been well acquainted. Since the Hazels also came out of Livingston County, the families may have been acquainted before they crossed the Ohio.

The two families probably socialized regularly while doing business at a nearby grist and lumber mill operated by James Green on Bay Creek about a mile south and a little west of Old Brownfield (Map 1). Established by Green on the Old French Road, the water-powered

mill was the principal one in the area and for many years an important place of congregation for Pope and Massac citizens. For the Hazels it was a five-mile trip one way; for the Ditterlines, four.

A possibility exists that Nancy Hazel was a daughter or a niece of King Hazel (1788-1837) who settled early near Dixon Springs. Nancy and Robert had eight children, the third of which they named King, born in 1839. Two of their daughters were named Sally and Rebecca; King Hazel had a sister named Sally and his wife's name was Rebecca.

In any case, the marital tie between the two families seems to relate in some way to the fact that the grave of Robert's older brother John was marked by the same unusual style of stone which was placed on the graves of three Hazels: Rhoda (1810), Daniel I (death date uncertain), and King (1837).

These burial and effigy stone dates are in an odd sequence, one being much earlier than John Ditterline's and another six years later. Rhoda Hazel's death, in fact, evidently occurred before the Ditterlines moved to Pope County. King Hazel, a contemporary of Rhoda who may have been her brother-in-law, died six years after John Ditterline's death.

Why such a sequence? Why and how did a preference for effigy-style gravestones persist in these two families over so long a span? It seems somehow significant, but as yet unexplainable, that John Ditterline's grave marker predates all of the other similar stones in the nearer cemeteries (Hazel, Shedville, and Auterbein).

Equally interesting is the Ellis aspect: John Ditterline's wife was Elizabeth Ellis, and there are three effigy stones bearing that surname (but unfortunately no death dates) in the Cannaday-Ellis cemetery 11 miles north of where the Ditterlines lived. One of the Ellis stones (that of Jane Henderson Ellis) bears an unusual epitaph which is nearly identical to the one inscribed on John Ditterline's stone (Plates 8 and 26). The two stones have other striking inscriptive and dimensional similarities. The deaths seem to have occurred just a few years apart, possibly only one or two. All of this strongly implies a same stonecarver as well as Ditterline-Ellis ties

which may be more extensive than the marriage itself.

The Ditterline effigy stone, now located in the Baptist cemetery at Temple Hill, was moved there in about 1988 by a descendant because the original gravesite in the old Qualls family cemetery less than a mile to the north had become overgrown and difficult to find. Evidently some connection existed between the Qualls and the Ditterline families to account for the burials there of both John (in 1831) and his brother Robert (1860).

John Ditterline II and his wife Eliza had only six years of marriage. John's death at age 31 cheated him of knowing any of his 13 nephews and nieces. His pioneer father, it is recorded in Page's *History of Massac County*, "lived in peace and died at a ripe age and left numerous descendants behind him, many of whom still live in the county."

Ellis Family

There is a poignancy about the three graves so close to one another in the Cannaday-Ellis Cemetery, each with a carefully-made effigy gravestone bearing the family name of Ellis (*Plates 8, 9 and 10*).

Six such stones are found in this early burial ground, more than at any Pope County site except Old Home Cemetery. The three Ellis stones are some distance apart from the other three; there are no other inscribed markers near them. None of the three have death dates, and birth dates are inscribed on only two, which adds to the difficulty of understanding the relationship between them. Clearly the graves are those of a man, a woman, and a child, from which it seems reasonable at first to postulate an Ellis family.

A study of land entries, poll lists, and other records suggests a birth date for James Ellis no later than about 1785 and probably nearer 1780. No death date for him has been found, but it seems to have occurred between 1828 (when he is last listed in an election poll list) and about 1830. He is not listed in the 1830 census.

James Ellis settled in the lower Hayes Creek area of Pope County. He

first entered land there in 1819, a quarter section located just south of today's Glendale and a little more than one mile south of where he was later buried. By 1825 he was the owner also of 80 acres on the southeast slope of Millstone Bluff, one mile southwest of his later gravesite (*Map 3*).

"Jas. Ellis" in the 1820 Illinois census lived in the neighborhood about Millstone Bluff. Other Ellises (Mary, Thomas, and Abraham Ellis) are listed in the 1830 census. John and Mary Ellis appear in an 1836 tax list; they may have been surviving relatives.

The considerable size of the Cannaday-Ellis burial ground connotes a church affiliation of some kind, but no record or tradition has been found of any organized church in the vicinity early enough to account for the many graves, all but eight of which are marked only with uninscribed unshaped creek or field rocks.

Gravestone similarities and other evidence indicate that the deaths of James Ellis, Robert Ellis, and Jane Henderson Ellis occurred within a short span or even at the same time in the early 1830s. The possibility of cholera has to be considered, since the disease, which had a very high fatality rate, made its first appearance in Illinois in 1832. Its initial spread was mainly by way of river transport routes. No history of cholera in Pope County has been found, but it struck in central Kentucky in 1832, 1833, and 1835. The 1833 epidemic was particularly intense in Livingston County. It could very well have spread into Pope and other counties along the Ohio River.

Buried near James Ellis is Jane Henderson Ellis, born in 1808. She must have reached marriage age at least, since her inscription includes what would have been her maiden name. (Some Hendersons were present early in the region, including Kentucky, although the name was scarce in Pope County.)

The gravestone of Robert Ellis is notably smaller than the other two, and is inscribed with what was evidently the

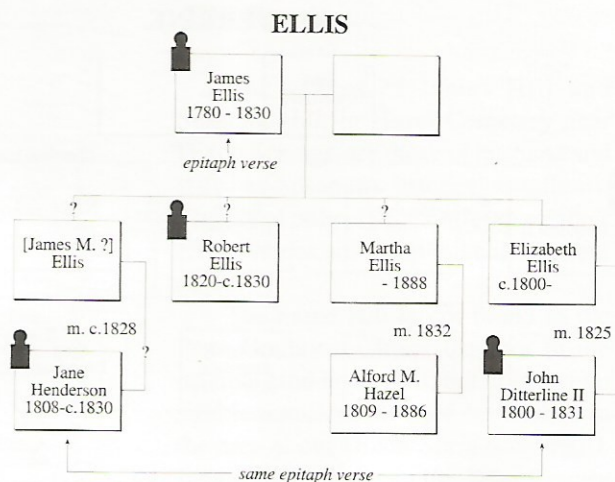


Figure 4. Ellis-Ditterline relationships and partial genealogy.

boy's nickname, "Lisey," a diminutive possibly from the surname Ellis. The boy's footstone is only 30 inches from his own headstone, and it is very close to the headstone of James Ellis, which suggests a filial relationship even though the ages are some 35 to 40 years apart. Jane's grave is about five feet from, and parallel with, that of the boy, but it is less close to that of James. All of this seems to have familial implications despite the age anomalies.

An obvious first question is whether Jane may have been the wife of James and the mother of Robert; the answer is that she could have been neither. Various date correlations show that James was a generation older than Jane. He is known to have had a daughter who married in 1825 and whose birth would most likely have been about 1800-1807. Jane H. Ellis was born in 1808. Jane's 1808 birth year also means she was only 12 years older than Robert and so could not reasonably have been his mother.

Nothing has been found which documents the relationship of these three Ellises, but evidence suggests a plausible explanation. The Ellis name is linked with the Ditterlines and the Hazels in several important ways, which, when diagramed across all three families by generation, indicate that James Ellis was probably Jane Henderson Ellis's father-in-law and Robert "Lisey" Ellis's father. It seems likely that Jane Henderson married a son of James Ellis, and that her husband was an older brother of Robert.

There was another James Ellis, a

James M. Ellis who died in Pope County in 1863. If he was of typical maturity when he died, he would have been of the same generation as the children of our James Ellis in Cannaday-Ellis cemetery, and so may have been a son of the latter Ellis. That in turn would make James M. Ellis someone who could have been the as-yet unidentified widower of Jane Henderson Ellis, if that person lived longer than she did.

The effigy stones of Jane Henderson Ellis and James Ellis, only a few feet apart, are exceptional for their having been inscribed with epitaph verses. They are the only such inscriptions in the cemetery, and they are two of only three such verses found among the entire effigy group of 23. The third is found on the gravestone of John Ditterline II, who died in 1831, six years after his marriage to Elizabeth Ellis, a daughter of James Ellis. The epitaph verses of Jane H. Ellis and John Ditterline II are the same (*Plates 8 and 27*).

These links seem especially significant when the Hazel family connection is added: John Ditterline's brother Robert married Nancy Hazel in 1835; Alford M. Hazel and Martha Ellis (possibly a daughter of James) married in 1832. Taken together, the Ellis, Ditterline, and Hazel families are represented by a total of seven effigy gravestones. The details of their ties are not known, but clearly they were much involved as neighbors, social acquaintances, and intermarried families.

Cannaday Family

The graves of Polly, Elzebeth, and William C. Cannaday tell us little that might help us know them. Their effigy stones, on which only the names and the death dates are inscribed, are near one another and close to the west edge of the very old and surprisingly large cemetery where they are found (*Map 3*).

Nothing of record has been found concerning the three, and the Cannaday family name in general is elusive, historically. There are no identifiable graves near the two which might be parents, spouses or siblings, although there are several uninscribed rough stone markers nearby. William's stone is markedly

smaller than the other two; its appearance leaves little doubt that he died as a child. Comparison of the three death dates leaves some possibility, though scant, that either Polly or Elzebeth (may be a misspelling of Elizabeth) could have been William's mother (*Plates 3, 4 and 5*).

The Cannaday name is present on the Illinois side of the Ohio River as early as 1810, if some spelling variations are accepted: Canady, Kanaday, Canedy, Canidy, and possibly Ken(n)edy. The Illinois census of 1810 lists "J. Canidy" among neighbors in the area of Hayes Creek not far from the Cannaday-Ellis cemetery. According to Trail, "a M. Kanaday was in the [Cache River] area in 1812." Trail mentions a "Phillips-Clark-Kenaday massacre" by Indians in the fall of 1812, but his sources are not given. An 1817 tax ledger lists Jacob Cannady and Robert Canady living on the "waters of Big Bay," along with "Jeake" Canaday who had "no property."

The 1818 census of Pope County places Jacob Canady near Rolston, McHenry, Penny, Brown, Modglin, Harper, Hazel, and other names about Hayes Creek just east of Glendale. In 1820, Jacob (this time spelled "Kennedy") was still in that neighborhood, and a Thomas Kennedy lived a little to the northeast. The Cannaday name (or variations) appears in road district maintenance lists and other county court records in 1818-1822 and 1829-1830.

Then finally there are the three Cannaday burials, two of them a year apart and the third eight years later. Thereafter the Cannaday name seems to vanish from the scene until the 1850s, when various land transactions show Lakes Kennedy, Matthew Kanady, and Vinsen Kanady to be in the area southeast of Glendale and northeast of Dixon Springs.

A final curiosity is the appearance of the name Kennaday in an unexpected place in 1860, when the Illinois census shows Julia E. Kennaday to be living and working as a domestic in the household of Alexander T. Sullenger in McLeansboro, Illinois. Alexander was a grandson of Peter Sullenger, whose grave in Hazel Cemetery is marked with an effigy stone (*Plate 22*). Alexander,

born in 1814, grew up at Gold Hill southwest of Shawneetown. At the north side of Gold Hill is a Kanady family cemetery. There also, for many years, was Kanady School.

Sullenger Family

Peter Sullenger's human-effigy gravestone is one of four found in Hazel Cemetery. It stands apart in an open area with no inscribed stones near it, but others of his family may be near him in graves not marked.

The Sullengers evidently came to America from Germany in the late 1600s or very early 1700s; the will of a Peter Sullenger thought to be an ancestor of the later Peter was recorded in Essex County, Pennsylvania, in 1707. The Peter Sullenger who migrated to Pope County was born in Chatham County, North Carolina, in 1769.

Peter as a young boy moved with his family to adjacent Guilford County where he was reared, probably on a farm not far from Greensboro. Peter Sullenger was listed in the 1790 U.S. census as a resident of Guilford County, "Salisbury District," when he was about 21. The census counted no females in his household. Peter must have married very soon after 1790 since he had a son, James, whose subsequent history requires a birth date of about 1791 or 1792.

Son James may have been named after his father's older brother James, who was born in 1764 probably also in Chatham County. Raised "principally in Guilford County," the older James Sullenger enlisted during the American Revolution at age 16. He saw action with the Guilford County Dragoons from 1780 until 1782, including the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in March of 1781 (*Map 2*). Peter was too young to serve; he was only 12 at the time of Cornwallis' surrender.

Both Peter and his brother James left North Carolina to resettle in Tennessee, although not at the same time. Peter and his family lived in Tennessee for several years and then in 1800 or 1801 moved again, to Livingston County, Kentucky. His brother left Guilford County in 1802, lived in Tennessee until some time after 1817 (the year in which he married Sa-

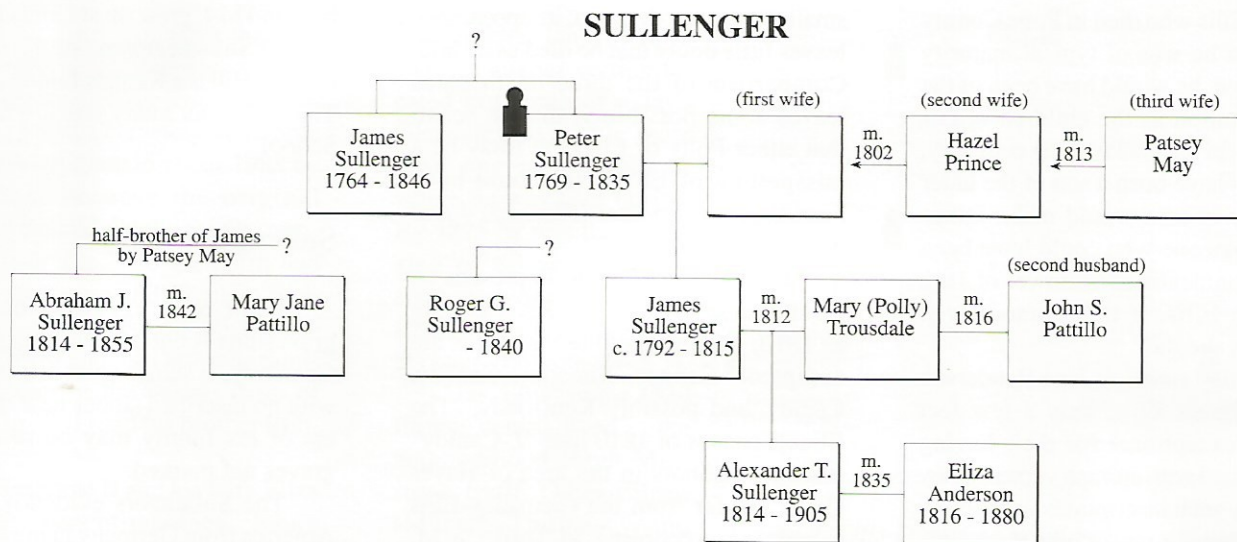


Figure 5. Sullenger family relationships and partial genealogy.

rah Bailey in Montgomery County), then later moved to Christian County, Kentucky, where he died in 1846.

Peter Sullenger's first wife evidently died some time between about 1792 and 1802 (her name is not known). In June of 1802 Peter married again, to Hazel Prince in Livingston County, Kentucky, where they made a home somewhere on the east waters of Deer Creek. The Prince family was extensive and prominent in western Kentucky, and linked with the early history of the town of Princeton.

In the Deer Creek neighborhood the Sullengers would have become well acquainted with the Hazel family, which was extensive there, and also with Watsons, Rolstons, and others whose families would be associated later in Pope County across the Ohio. At Tolu, Kentucky, on the Ohio River about five miles above Deer Creek, there is a Watson Cemetery which earlier was known as the Sullenger Cemetery.

These Livingston County families made regular trips into Illinois to obtain salt from the salines west of the new settlement of Shawneetown. At first they would have used James Lusk's new ferry west of Deer Creek; then by 1803 Flynn's Ferry three and a half miles above Cave-in-Rock; and later any of several competing ferries which provided more direct routes to the salines.

In 1805 Peter and Hazel had a son, Aaron W. Sullenger. Aaron, who grew

up on the farm in Livingston County with his half brother James, stayed in Kentucky and later became a doctor. He married Lettie Melinda Watson, whose brother George left Livingston County for Pope County before 1820 and was prominent in the Golconda area.

By about 1805 some of the Sullengers' acquaintances had decided to move to Pope County, among them some Hazels and Rolstons. Peter Sullenger evidently made the same decision by 1807, when he situated himself on a tract in Pope County near Grand Pierre Creek. He was there as an assignee of Sam McClure, who had squatted the land earlier. The place was eight to ten miles east of where several Hazels already were settled as squatters on three separate tracts.

In 1808 Peter Sullenger petitioned for right of preemption of Pope County land on which he was squatting, presumably the same tract on which he was located as assignee in 1807. His petition may have been rejected. For some reason he returned to Livingston County in time to be counted in the Kentucky census of 1810. Apparently he still owned land there, since he was listed in the 1809, 1810, 1811, and later tax rolls of that county.

At about that time, probably between 1808 and 1812, Peter's wife Hazel died. Possibly Hazel had stayed in Kentucky with her stepson James to

maintain the family farm while Peter attempted to establish a place for them in Pope County. It may have been her illness or death that brought him back to Kentucky in 1810 or a little earlier.

In 1812 Peter's son James, at age about 20, married Mary (Polly) Trousdale in Livingston County. Very soon thereafter, in about 1812 or 1813, James and his bride moved to Gallatin County in Illinois and took up land three or four miles west-southwest of Shawneetown. Their place was close by the north side of an extended promontory later known as Gold Hill, eight or nine miles from the salines which James probably had visited as a boy with his father (*Map 1*).

Others of Polly's Trousdale family evidently had arrived in Gallatin County earlier. The 1810 Illinois census places James Trousdale at the "U.S. Salines" area, probably on one of the two parcels of land near the northwest end of Gold Hill to which he took title in 1814.

Family tradition holds James Sullenger to have been a war veteran, and since he was not born until after the close of the Revolution, his service would have had to have been during the War of 1812. That would mean he had to depart almost immediately from the new home and marriage. He must have returned by early 1813; in January of 1814 he and Polly became parents of a son, Alexander. James may have come back from his

military service injured or ill because in 1815, at the age of about 23, he died, leaving Polly and their infant son alone on the Gold Hill farm.

Peter Sullenger may have been living in Pope County prior to his son's death, but he was in Kentucky at least briefly in 1813 when he remarried. His third wife was Patsey May of Livingston County, where the marriage was recorded. Peter and Patsey may have had a son, Abraham Jackson, born in December of 1814, who is thought to be the Abraham or Abram who appears later in the Dixon Springs area of Pope County.

From that time forward, Peter Sullenger's whereabouts are less evident, but apparently he may not have moved to Pope County until about 1830. His name appears almost continually in the Livingston County tax lists as a landowner from 1809 through 1824 and then one final time in 1830.

Peter's home probably was still in Livingston County in 1816, the year in which his daughter-in-law Polly, living near Gold Hill, remarried to John S. Pattillo. John, who had been "living at Capt. Steel's" in Pope County, moved to Gallatin and Gold Hill. There he and Polly continued the farm operation and joined in raising Alexander.

It seems likely that Peter Sullenger would have visited his grandson often as he grew to manhood at Gold Hill. Alexander during his youth helped with the farm labors and "secured but a limited education." We know that he learned also the art of stonemasonry during that time. So we are led to consider who his stonemasonry teacher may have been: possibly his stepfather, John Pattillo, or perhaps his grandfather, Peter Sullenger.

In the spring of 1832, when Alexander was 18, Black Hawk and his people crossed the Mississippi into northern Illinois, and by June the Black Hawk War had commenced. Alexander left home to serve through that summer and returned safely. His grandfather by that time seems to have been living in Pope County near Dixon Springs, where another Sullenger, Roger G., was a landowner and neighbor of families including Hazels, Cottons, Scotts, Hayses, Ditterlines, and Watsons (*Map 5*).

Roger G. Sullenger probably was a son of Peter, although that is as yet un-

documented. It is known that Roger married while in Lincoln County, Tennessee, but we have no date, nor do we know when he moved to the Dixon Springs vicinity.

Peter Sullenger in his later time may have lived with Roger, Abraham, or some other relative without taking up any Pope County land in his own name. Nothing further is known of Peter's wife Patsey, who may have died in Kentucky. No grave is known for her in Pope County.

Peter Sullenger's life came to its end in May of 1835 when he was 65. He was buried in Hazel Cemetery close by Dixon Springs, and so it seems reasonable to conclude that that was the neighborhood in which he had made his home during the final years of his life.

Some time in the same year of his grandfather's death, Alexander T. Sullenger left his Gold Hill home and moved to Hamilton County and McLeansboro, which was then a village of "50 souls." There, in December of 1835, he married Eliza Anderson (years later Eliza's obituary stated that she "was united in marriage with her grief stricken husband" on December 10). Eliza, born in Union County, Kentucky, had come to Illinois with her parents, John and Mourning Anderson, in 1818.

Alexander and Eliza "shortly after [their] marriage bought some wild land and made a farm just west of McLeansboro." There they lived for many years and raised a family of 12 children. In 1837 young Alexander was named county coroner, an office which he held for more than five decades.

In Pope County, meanwhile, Alexander's possible uncle, Roger G. Sullenger, entered his ownership of 40 acres south of Dixon Springs in February of 1837. It is likely that Roger had lived on that tract for some time before taking title, in which case it may have been the place where Peter Sullenger lived until his death. Roger's name appears as a buyer at the estate auction of Elias Cotton in 1836 (the Sullenger and Cotton families were linked earlier in Kentucky). Roger also attended the King Hazel estate auction in 1837, and served as one of five co-executors during that estate's settlement.

Roger G. Sullenger died in the summer of 1840 after a "last sickness" at-

tended by Dr. William Sim of Golconda. Roger's widow, Elizabeth, was one of the executors. The settlement balance was \$223.

Abraham Sullenger, also living in middle Pope County, married Mary Jane Pattillo in 1842 and entered land near Dixon Springs in 1852. In the late 1840s he served as a constable in that area. After Abraham's death in 1855 his widow was administrator of the estate, but the probate papers were signed also by Isaac H. Hazel, son of King. Abraham left Mary, their five children, and a personal estate amounting to \$100.

In Hamilton County, Alexander T. Sullenger continued to practice his stonemasonry skills in the making of gravemarkers and monuments using local materials. He acceded gradually to the growing popularity of commercially-cut stones available from other locales, mainly Vermont and other eastern sources, beginning about 1845. He was listed in the 1850 census as "stone cutter." In 1852 he went formally into the "marble business" in a shop located a block or two south of the courthouse square. In 1860 he was listed as "marble dealer" and in 1870 as "marble engraver." During the earlier time he hauled his marble overland from Evansville, Indiana, by wagon.

Eliza died in 1880. In November of 1882 Alexander married again, and in 1887 he marked his fiftieth year as county coroner. By then he also had served 20 years as county justice, and in that year of 1887 was still in the marble business. He was known and honored in Hamilton County as "Squire Sullenger."

After six months of illness Alexander T. Sullenger died in May of 1905 "in the city." He was 91 years old. The monument erected at his grave in McLeansboro, elaborately made of marble, contrasts strikingly with the simple sandstone marker placed at the grave of his grandfather Peter Sullenger nearly seven decades earlier.

Watson Family

The Watson family was prominent about the turn of the 1800s in Livingston County, Kentucky, in the lower Deer Creek area. Abraham Watson's place in the family, however, is not clear. His name is not found in the various Pope County legal or other records, with a single possible exception: "A. J. Watson" appeared as a buyer of one article, a saddle, at the estate sale of Roger G. Sullenger in August of 1840. That almost certainly was Abraham.

The Watson name may have been represented in Pope County during the first decade of the 1800s, but the earliest documented date is 1817, when a George Watson was living "near Massac." Walter Watson by 1819 owned a quarter section in Hardin County, and in 1825 a "W. Watson" voted at a poll at Golconda. George Watson appears in the 1830 census among names which indicate he was living in Hardin County. No connections with Abraham have been found.

Abraham Watson apparently did not own land in the county, nor did he register cattlemarks or appear at election polls and so on. In fact, there are no squatter or original land listings for any Watson. Abraham's birth date is not known, but the auction purchase would seem to place it no later than about 1825.

Abraham Watson's gravestone is, by a considerable margin, the southernmost of all the 23 effigy-style stones in Pope County. It is also one of the latest (1845), and it could be described as the least true to form of the 23 (*Plate 28*). It seems obviously a late copy, which makes us curious to know more about his connection with the other effigy-stone families and with the stonecarver(s).

Although Abraham Watson's burial site (*Map 8*) might suggest that he lived well apart from the other effigy-stone families, there are indications otherwise. First, it seems unlikely that someone living so far south would hear about, then travel twenty or more miles to attend, an estate auction to buy just one item. Second, there was an "S. J. Watson" among the 60 Pope County residents who filed a petition in 1841 asking for the "laying off" of a new election precinct approximating today's Webster precinct, of

which Dixon Springs was in the middle. Given that Roger Sullenger was located near Dixon Springs, it would seem likely therefore that he and one or more Watsons including Abraham were neighbors in that vicinity about 1840.

There is still another reason why Abraham Watson's appearance at the Sullenger sale is unlikely to have been as a stranger. The two families were connected by marriage earlier in Livingston County, Kentucky, where they were clearly neighbors. An old burial ground near Tolu, a village opposite and five miles below Cave-in-Rock on the Ohio River, is now known as the Watson Cemetery but was originally called the Sullenger Cemetery. Watson Bluff is located six miles southwest of Tolu; a "Sullinger School" was five miles south of that village. In the 1820s Lettie Melinda Watson (sister of George) and Aaron W. Sullenger (son of Peter and Hazel) were married in Livingston County.

Thus it is not Abraham Watson's presence at the Roger Sullenger sale that seems unusual, but rather his burial, five years later, at a place in Pope County so distant from what probably was his home neighborhood.

Scott Family

William Scott and Polly Ann Scott are buried in Old Home Cemetery near two Beanard and two Barger graves. The small size of their gravestones indicates they were children. The six burials, each marked with an effigy stone, represent a death-date span of 23 years. All six stones have inscriptions with strongly related characteristics of spelling, language, and style.

The earliest Scotts in Pope County arrived from North Carolina about 1812 and evidently squatted on land near the Ohio River. They included Robert Scott, who helped build the first courthouse in Golconda, and John Scott, who took up land just south of Millstone Bluff in 1817. James D. Scott entered a quarter section immediately west of Golconda in 1817.

By the 1820s the name was well known in several parts of Pope County. "Dixen" Scott is in the 1820 census,

along with Joshua Scott "with Negroes 18 years woman 20 years" who was a charter member of the First Presbyterian Church in Golconda when it was established in 1819. Robert Scott's name is seen often in county documents; he was the father of Isaac B. Scott, who married Elizabeth Ellis in the 1830s. John Scott was a close friend and neighbor of the Beanard family up near today's Eddyville, and made 12 purchases during the estate sale following the death of Frederick Beanard I in 1823.

A James Wesley Scott was raised (along with two young Barger males) by Frederick Beanard II and his wife Mary, who were childless. We have been unable to establish a relationship between young James Wesley and any of the other Scotts in the county.

Despite the numerous Scotts present in the area and their frequent mentions in various records, we have not been able to find links with Polly Ann and William. Birth dates for both are missing. Since they died probably as children they would not have transacted matters typically of record. Nothing is known of their places in the family history except that they must have had some part in the lives of neighboring Scotts and Beanards about Old Home Cemetery and perhaps in the church located there.

The adoption of a young Scott by Frederick II and Mary Beanard is as yet unexplainable. It is intriguing for its possible connection with William or Polly Ann, given the proximities of the Beanard and Scott graves. Could James Wesley and also William and Polly Ann have been orphaned by the deaths of unknown parents?

The Scott-Ellis marital link (Isaac B. Scott and Elizabeth Ellis) is interesting since it occurred during the early 1830s, when most of the effigy stones were made, and because the two families are represented by a total of five such stones. Also, land ownerships and censuses show that the Scotts and the Ellises were contemporaries and neighbors in the Hayes Creek area. But neither Isaac B. nor Elizabeth has yet been connected with any of the other names of interest among the two families.

In Kentucky, Scotts were linked with Sullengers by marriage with a member

of the Shipp family (Thomas Sullenger and Fannie Shipp were married in Woodford County, Kentucky). The Shipp family history also mentions Cottons connected with the Shipp family.

Beanard and (Shuffle)Barger Families

In the year 1799 the name "Frederick Beenyard" was written in an account book by a storekeeper at Cloyd's Store, part of a frontier community on Back Creek in southwestern Virginia. Twenty-four years later that name was recorded again, inscribed as "Frederick Beanard" on a gravestone in Pope County in Illinois, a newer frontier.

Like most of the newcomers to colonial America in the eighteenth century, Frederick Beanard and his family set out on a journey both long and remarkable. Frederick was born in Germany about 1756 and came to America with his parents, who established themselves first probably in southeastern Pennsylvania. With them may have come other German families who preferred to travel and settle in familiar groups.

As a young man Frederick either moved with his parents or went on his own to resettle in Frederick County in northernmost Virginia. There he made a home in an area which included families named

Wysor, Anderson, Trinkle, Helms, Carper, and possibly Woolwine, Burton, and Shufflebarger. Some of these families may have been acquainted before leaving Germany. In Frederick County they were closely associated through the final years of the American Revolution, during which some of the men saw military service. Among them was Jacob Anderson who served in 1777 and 1778 under a Captain Helm from Frederick County. John Carper, Henry Wysor, and Christopher Trinkle also served.

In 1785, two years after the close of the Revolution, Frederick Beanard married 19-year-old Dorothea Helms in Frederick County. Their first child, Mary, was born there in 1788. It was a time when more and more of their friends had departed or were looking to the less crowded lands of southwestern Virginia. Their destination was the rich, rolling country of New River, two hundred miles down through the Valley of Virginia.

The Jacob Anderson family was among the earliest to leave Frederick County for what was at that time Montgomery County, arriving there about 1781. They were followed by Jacob Shufflebarger, Adam Wysor, and Christopher Trinkle and their families, all about 1787-1789. John Carper arrived near New River in 1793.

Frederick and Dorothea Beanard with daughter Mary may have left

Frederick County to travel with some of those families who probably migrated together about 1790-1793. Accompanying them may have been Dorothea's parents. The Beanards evidently paused in Fincastle County, about three-fourths along the way, where a second daughter, Hannah, was born in 1794.

Soon after that, the Beanards crossed New River at Ingles' Ferry and established a home for their growing family, which was increased in 1795 by another daughter, Christina, and in 1795 by a son, Frederick.

There is record of a land sale by George Helms and Catherine Helms ("97 acres, New River") in 1795. They may have been the parents of Frederick Beanard's wife Dorothea, although that is not certain (George might otherwise have been a brother or uncle of Dorothea). George Helms then bought 220 acres on "the waters of Thorne Spring" in 1800, two years after the Beanards took up land near Back Creek a few miles to the north.

Whether Frederick Beanard owned land in Montgomery County before 1798 is not known. In the summer of that year there was recorded his purchase of 85 acres "on a branch of Back Creek," which appears to have been his only land transaction. The acreage, for which Frederick paid 20 pounds, was part of a 383-acre tract just acquired by Joseph Williamson

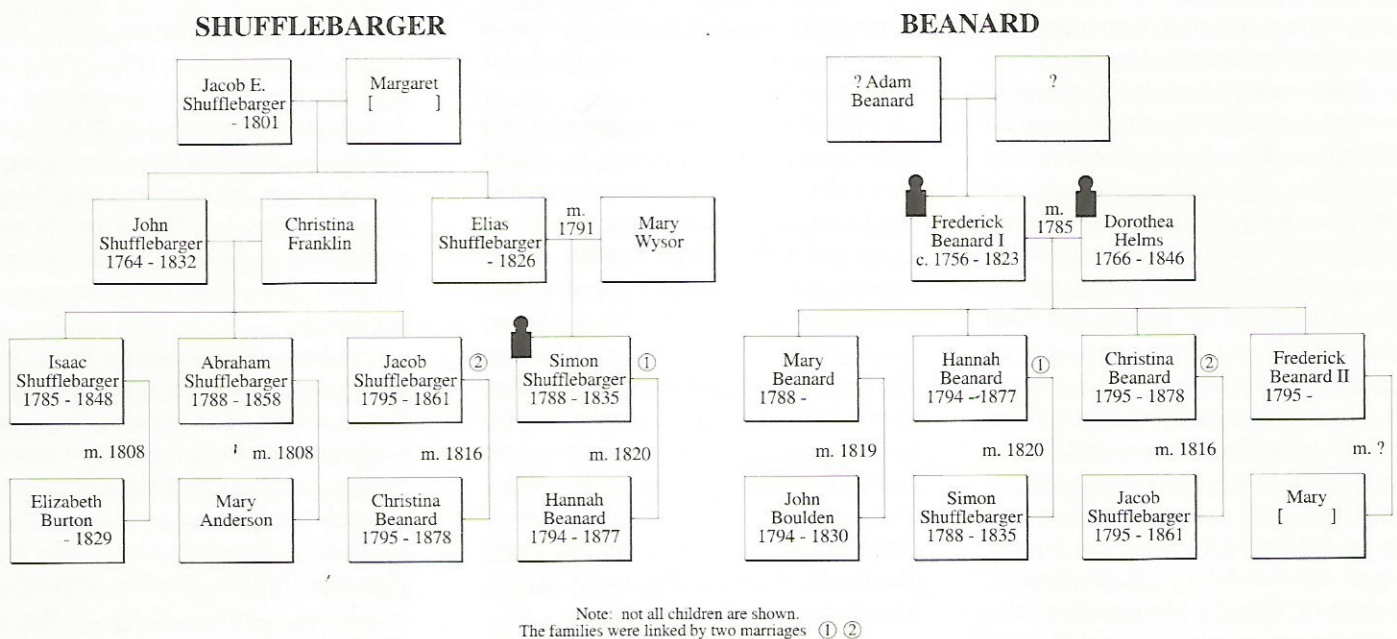
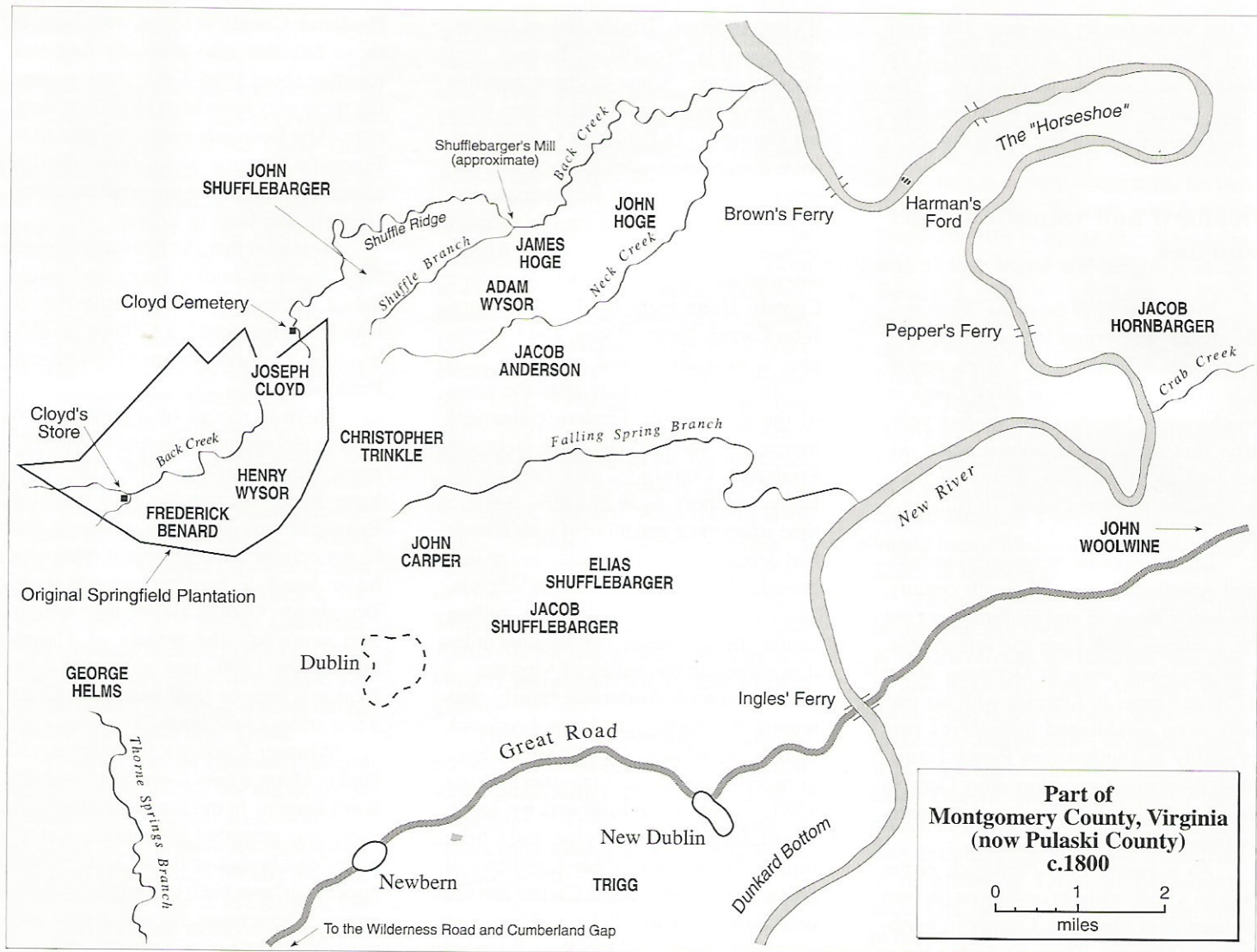


Figure 6. Beanard-Shufflebarger family relationships and partial genealogy.



Map 9. Part of Montgomery County, Virginia (now Pulaski County), c. 1800.

in the western part of a large plantation tract called Springfield (Map 9).

The unnamed branch mentioned in the deed was probably one now called Millerplace Branch, which flows into Back Creek, a New River tributary running through Springfield. The Benard family of six settled on their land, which was adjacent to the large holdings of Col. Joseph Cloyd and his family, and lived there probably until their departure from Virginia 19 years later.

The new Benard home was about one mile from Cloyd's Store and four or five from the places earlier settled by the Shufflebargers (Jacob and son Elias over toward Ingles' Ferry and New Dublin village, and son John on Back Creek at the foot of Cloyd's Mountain). John Shufflebarger operated a grist mill at his place on Back Creek. The mill served a

community which included a number of families acquainted earlier in Frederick County.

The Cloyd's Store ledger of 1799-1804 containing Frederick Benard's name also shows Shufflebargers including Jacob, his son Elias I, and grandsons Isaac and John. Other familiar names appear: Anderson (four), Carper (four), Trinkle (four), Wysor (four), Burton (six), Hornbarger (one), and George Helms. The closeness of these families over a long span can be seen in that between about 1780 and 1810 they were linked by some 15 or more marriages. For example, there were marriages of Shufflebargers with one or more Beanards, Burtons, Wysors, Carpers, Hornbargers, and Andersons.

A significant loss occurred in the Back Creek-Falling Spring community

when family patriarch Jacob Elias Shufflebarger died in 1801. There was still another loss when neighbor and friend Adam Wysor died in 1804. Among Adam's legatees was Elias Shufflebarger, son of Jacob, who had married Adam's daughter Mary in 1791. Adam Wysor's coffin was made by neighbor Frederick Benard, for which service he received six dollars.

Adam's burial was in the Wysor family cemetery less than a mile east of the Benard farm. The cemetery was near a Lutheran and Reformed meetinghouse built by German-speaking settlers in that neighborhood, the congregation probably including Wysors, Shufflebargers, Beanards, Millers, Trinkles, and others.

Elias and Mary (Wysor) Shufflebarger eventually had nine sons. One of them was Simon, born in 1788

near present-day Dublin. Later he would become one of four Shufflebargers who would leave their Montgomery County homes for Indiana, then Illinois (*Figure 6*).

The Beanards in 1805 had a second son, Jacob. As far as we know, the family, now of seven, continued to live near Back Creek, trading at Cloyd's Store and Shufflebarger's Mill, attending church nearby, and cropping their small farmstead in a valley mostly of large, wealthy and expanding plantations. A generation of young men and women who had been children when their families left Frederick County began to marry. Among them were Jacob Shufflebarger II and Christina Beanard, both 21 in 1816 when they traveled 30 or so miles to Christiansburg, the county seat, to be married.

Near and to the south of the Back Creek community ran the historic Great Road, the one on which the Beanards and their neighbors had traveled to the New River country three decades earlier. Beginning in 1775 the much-used pike had been extended into Kentucky by Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road. That combination became the route over which eventually hundreds of thousands of emigrants journeyed westward into Kentucky, then into Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois (*Map 2*).

Through nearly three decades the Beanards and Shufflebargers and their friends, who lived only a few miles from that extraordinary thoroughfare, had watched a trickle of adventurers become an unending throng of settlers seeking new lands west of the Cumberland. In 1817 the entire Beanard family, together with four young Shufflebarger men and their wives and children, possibly several of the Andersons, and others, formed a party and left their Back Creek homes. They turned their ox-drawn wagons and their cattle and other stock onto the Great Road and headed for the new state of Indiana.

The Beanard-Shufflebarger party included at least 25 people, possibly as many as 30. They followed Boone's well-beaten old road through Cumberland Gap and traveled northwestward across Kentucky, reaching Louisville and crossing into Indiana probably in the summer or fall of 1817.

The 400-mile journey ended in Clark County, not far upriver from the bustling town of New Albany opposite Louisville. There the emigrants chose land and helped each other build houses and prepare for the coming winter.

The group's decision to move to Clark County in Indiana may have been based on more than simply a direction toward new land. Already settled in adjacent Washington County were old friends Christopher and Elizabeth (Wysor) Trinkle. The Trinkles had left Back Creek some four years earlier to homestead in southern Indiana.

Not everyone lingered in Indiana. After wintering with the newly-settled group, the three Shufflebarger families continued on to Illinois. Isaac, with his wife Elizabeth Burton and an infant son, Isaac II, probably entered at Shawneetown. So probably did Jacob and his wife Christina Beanard. Abraham, with his wife Mary E. "Polly" Anderson and two children, came down the Ohio by flatboat and landed at Golconda.

While the three Shufflebarger families established themselves in Gallatin and Pope counties, those who remained in Indiana worked to improve their small community. In 1819 Mary Beanard, daughter of Frederick and Dorothea, married John Boulden, a young tanner by trade who had recently moved to Indiana from Bourbon County, Kentucky. Probably the newlyweds made their home near the Beanards. A year later another of the Beanard daughters, Hannah, married Simon Shufflebarger I, who had earlier elected to stay with the Beanards when his cousins moved on to Illinois.

Isaac and Elizabeth Shufflebarger soon went into Pope County and established a farm; Isaac's cattlemark was registered there in 1818. Abraham and Mary, with children Lucinda and Granville, in that same year settled "two and one-half miles southeast of Eddyville." Jacob and Christina, however, apparently stayed in Gallatin County for a year or two, taking title of two lots in or near Shawneetown and a quarter section about 12 miles northwest of the town.

By 1820 Jacob and Christina had relocated from Gallatin into Pope County

and settled close to Abraham and his family near present-day Old Home Church. That is where both families made their homes through the next decade and longer. Isaac's initial location in Pope County is less certain, but he probably stayed near his brothers in the Eddyville area for a number of years.

The Shufflebarger brothers were said to be "great hunters and typical frontiersmen," preferring hunting and trapping to farming, but they soon had farms well set up on the waters of upper Lusk Creek. It seems likely that during that time they were corresponding with their relatives in Indiana, perhaps even visiting them occasionally despite the 200-mile distance.

Encouraged by favorable word from Illinois, the Beanards and the Bouldens settled affairs in Clark County and left Indiana some time in 1821. Frederick, Dorothea and 16-year-old son Jacob traveled to Pope County and settled with or close by their daughter and son-in-law near the later Old Home Church site. Frederick II, 26, and his wife Mary came probably at the same time and made their first Illinois home nearby. So did Simon and Hannah with Hannah's two daughters Lucretia and Mary Woolwine from her first marriage in Virginia.

At about that same time in 1821, probably traveling with the Beanards, John and Mary (Beanard) Boulden left Indiana and located with their new daughter at Elizabethtown in Hardin County. After the birth of a son there in 1823 they moved to Ford's Ferry, above Cave-In-Rock on the Ohio, where they established a farm and a tannery.

It is thought that one or more members of the Jacob Anderson family, of the Back Creek neighborhood in Virginia, also had emigrated with the Beanard-Shufflebarger party in 1817-1821. If so, their identities are uncertain. John Anderson (1804-1885), a son of Jacob and Christina (Wysor) Anderson, brought his family to Pope County in about 1849. The Anderson name appears in Pope County poll lists as early as 1826 (a John Anderson) and 1828 (Andrew Anderson), and appears to be of a separate family from Kentucky.

The exact location of the Pope County land on which Frederick and Dorothea settled is uncertain. The elder

Frederick's name does not appear in land records except in one instance. That is in connection with a quarter section located just over one mile straight south of Eddyville, land which had been entered originally by Enoch and Solomon Penny in February of 1818 (*Map 4*). According to John Allen, "a note on the land book seems to indicate that the land passed to F. Beanard before full payment was made" by the Pennys. This could have happened at the time of the Beanards' arrival in 1821 when they may have been looking for land to buy. But no subsequent disposition of that tract by any Beanard has been found, and, whether Frederick acquired it or not, he and Dorothea most likely lived at first with others of the family, or settled on nearby land without taking title.

We do know that their son Frederick II took title to an 80-acre tract just southwest of present-day Old Home Church one year after the death of his father. The supposition can be that the younger Frederick finally formalized title to the land on which his parents lived but never recorded. Frederick II became the owner in 1824, months after his father came at last to the end of his long travels.

Frederick Beanard the elder died in the autumn of 1823, after little more than

two years in Illinois. His burial was among the first in what was to become a family graveyard and later the cemetery of Old Home Church which was organized years afterward. His grave was marked with an effigy-style stone, the first of several to be placed there.

Similar stones later were placed at the nearby graves of two Scott children who died in 1827 and 1835 (a Scott family had been friends of the Beanards but the connection is not clear); of Sarah S. Barger (1827) whose relationship is unknown; the Beanards' son-in-law Simon S. Barger; and finally Dorothea (Helms) Beanard, who died in 1846.

Simon S. Barger I met a tragic death in 1835, at age 47, when he drowned while saving the life of his cousin Jacob who had broken through ice in Bay Creek near Golconda. There were other losses as well, through the years. But the pioneer Beanard and Shufflebarger families, long connected by friendship and marriage, stayed in Pope County and prospered.

(Today the families usually spell their names Benard and Barger.)

In Virginia, the Shufflebarger name is still evoked when one crosses Shuffle Branch or climbs nearby Shuffle Ridge behind Back Creek. Both were named

for John Shufflebarger (1764-1832), father of the three brothers who went to Illinois. John continued to operate his mill on Back Creek and died there in 1832. His descendants, and those of his brother Elias I, who died in the same area in 1826, are numerous in Virginia and other parts of the United States.

Many other early family names link the New River area of southwestern Virginia with Pope and nearby counties in Illinois. After 200 years some can still be found in both places: McCoy, Draper, Hickman, McCorkle, Henderson, Vickers, Goodwin, Cowan, Conley, Hogg (Hoge).

The Trigg name, another example, was and is well known: by the 1770s Capt. Stephen Trigg (a noted militia officer), Abraham Trigg, and Daniel Trigg were situated with their families in the New Dublin and Dunkard Bottom vicinity, only a few miles south of the later Shufflebargers. The Triggsses were prominent in the early affairs of Montgomery County, now part of Pulaski County, and later in Kentucky. Some of the family eventually settled in Pope and adjacent counties in Illinois, following the long sequence of quest and resettlement that was so characteristic of the opening of the Illinois frontier.

THE GRAVESTONES

The ability of human beings to make artifacts from stone is one of the important attributes that distinguishes the species from the other members of the animal kingdom. The origins of the craft are many thousands of years old. Beginning with the chipped stone axes and spears of hunters and gatherers, the technology evolved with the rise of civilization in the classical cultures of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, culminating in the well-known monumental architecture of those societies. It is from these architectural and stone carving traditions that gravestone carving, as we know it, emerged.

By the time the New World was discovered stonecarving was a well-developed craft throughout Europe. Carvers arrived in America first from the British Isles and Germany and later from many other European countries.

The early gravestones of New England have received considerable attention from students of gravestone art and history. From the Stoneham Cemetery in Massachusetts a stylistic sequence has been established beginning with the winged skull in the first half of the 18th century, followed by the winged cherub in the later half of the 18th century, and then changing to the willow and urn motif in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

This same sequence was not repeated in all regions of the eastern seaboard, and stylistic variations occurred, especially among part-time carvers who borrowed ideas from the more technically advanced stonecarvers, reworking the motifs and developing a distinctive folk art tradition. Peter Benes has documented folk gravestone carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, between 1689 and 1805, where winged skulls and cherubs heads were reworked in a multitude of folk motifs.

Although this study looks to the southern colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia as an earlier American location of the plain anthropomorphic stones of Pope County, the human head, either skull or cherub as a centered gravestone motif on New England stones must relate in someway to widespread

concepts of both the physical and spiritual aspects of death. They may have influenced the development of the plain human effigy form among part-time carvers in isolated areas of the mountain south and along the migration routes to the west.

These and many other questions are beyond this investigation. However, it is hoped that by placing the Pope County stones in historical context, future distributional studies will have a point of reference. From the AGS Newsletter, contact with other gravestone investigators, and our own travels, we know that the plain human effigy stones occur at selected locations in the eastern United States.

Before discussion of the Pope County folk gravestones, a brief review of commercial gravestones that were contemporaneous and available to those who could afford them is provided below.

Commercial Gravestones in Southern Illinois: 1817-1850

If the time of placement corresponds with the death date, the earliest known commercially made gravestone that we know about in the area is that of Ellender, consort of John Lane, who died April 17, 1817 (*Plate 30*). The sandstone marker is in Hogan Cemetery four-and-one-half miles southwest of Old Shawneetown in Gallatin County. In profile the stone exhibits a central arch and a stepped and incurvate area terminating in small lateral arches.

A variation of this type, exhibiting gothic details, was photographed in the Golconda city cemetery (*Plate 31*). It is manufactured of non-local fine-grained sandstone ground smooth on both front and back surfaces. Commercial stonecutters used a wide chisel leaving a flat marginal edge with regularly spaced markings (*Plate 34*). The workmanship is very professional with careful word and letter spacing and deep V cut letters, a marked contrast to the workmanship and inscriptions of the effigy stones. By comparison the James Ellis stone (*Plate*

35) exhibits short, random chisel marks and a convex marginal edge. Hugh Robertson's death date corresponds to the period when human effigy stones were popular in rural Pope County.

Sandstone markers stylistically similar to the Lane and Robertson stones are present in the old Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, D.C., where death dates in the last half of the 18th century are common. The style has a wide distribution throughout the Ohio Valley, the trade



Plate 30. Gravestone of Ellender, consort of John Lane, Hogan Cemetery, Saline County, Illinois.

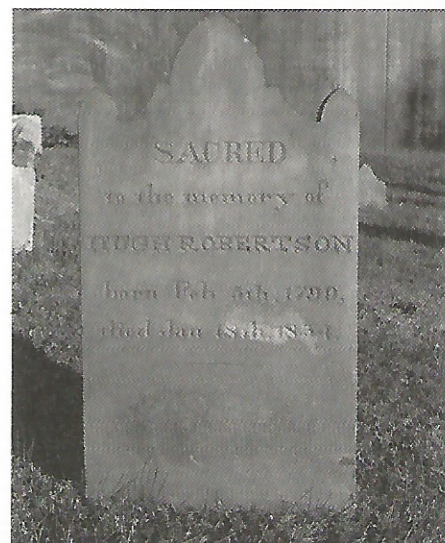


Plate 31. Gravestone of Hugh Robertson, Golconda city cemetery.

area probably being tied to both sandstone sources and steamboat transportation.

In southern Illinois the style is common at early cemeteries along the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi Rivers and on early roads in the interior of the state. They persisted until the late 1840s when white marble began to appear. After 1850 white marble, probably from Vermont, replaced the commercial sandstone markers so completely that monument dealerships often advertised as "marble works."

Anthropomorphic Gravestones in Pope County

We are aware of some stylistic variations of folk gravestones that are contemporaneous with the effigy-style stones of Pope County. A common type, often occurring in the same graveyard with the effigy style, is frequently referred to as "discoid." These small markers made of local stone exhibit a nearly circular head, lack a neck, and may have either square or rounded shoulders. Square shoulders seem to be more common. Another variety exhibits a circular head, and a recurvate neck merging with small lateral shoulders. The small shoulders on this variety are similar to the shoulders on commercial stones (Plate 30). Future investigations may establish more precise temporal and spatial parameters for these varieties.

The sandstone that was selected for the Pope County anthropomorphic markers generally falls into two types. A more massive grey-tan sandstone was used for markers at the Rolston-Hazel, Cannaday-Ellis, and Hazel cemeteries and for the John Ditterline stone at Temple Hill. These stones usually have a greater average thickness than stones at the other cemeteries. However, the carver had a choice of thicknesses with this more massive stone, as a natural bedding seam thicker on one side than the other was observed on large natural blocks of stone on the north side of Millstone Bluff (Plate 32) and on Elzebeth Cannaday's stone in the cemetery (Plate 33). It appears that this natural bedding seam is reflected in the Elzebeth Cannaday stone, which is five inches thick, and William

Cannaday's stone, which is two inches thick (Plate 5).

In the Eddyville area the sandstone is a rich reddish brown and bedded in much thinner layers. All of the markers at Old Home Cemetery were naturally-occurring slabs probably collected from the back side of bluff exposures or from stream beds. All of the markers at Old Home have natural unaltered surfaces, surfaces often seen on sandstone slabs in stream beds.



Plate 32. Natural sandstone slab on Millstone Bluff showing natural bedding plane.

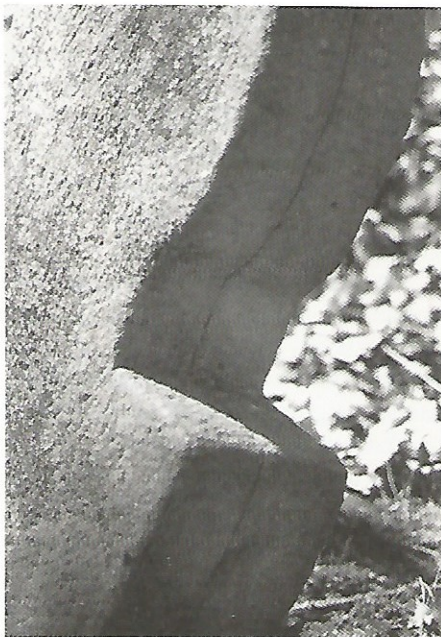


Plate 33. Elzebeth Cannaday gravestone showing natural bedding plane.

Differences in the two sandstone sources are most easily illustrated by the average thickness of two inches for the gravestones at Old Home and a three and four inch thickness at Cannaday-Ellis, Hazel, and the John Ditterline stone.

The dimensions of the stones are presented in Figure 7.

With the exception of Frederick Beanard's gravestone, all of the markers at Old Home have one natural, unmodi-



Plate 34. Commercial sandstone marker showing chisel marks on marginal edge.



Plate 35. James Ellis gravestone showing chisel marks on marginal edge.

fied surface. The backs of the stones exhibit a wavy or rippled surface characteristic of sedimentary rock that evolved in moving water. The faces of the stones are flat and smooth and could have been formed geologically in still water.

Carving Techniques

Early stonequarrying and stone-carving is of course well known but is not particularly well documented in readily available publications. Until the arrival of steam, all stonecutting was done by hand. By the late 18th century major cities along the eastern seaboard began to develop stone industries. Master masons used a wide variety of tools including square, level, hammer, mallet, pick, dividers, frame saw, and many different types of chisels. Carving was usually carried out on a sturdy work bench.

The carvers of the effigy stones in Pope County had a much more limited tool kit. It appears that the tools were limited to mallet, hammer, chisel, punch, wedge, and a compass to ensure a round head. Several stones exhibit a compass depression in the center of the head and remnants of the outer circle guideline.

Chisel marks are about one inch wide and letter heights range from one to one-and-one-half inches where a chisel has been used. The Rhoda and King



Plate 36. Rhoda Hazel gravestone showing use of punch to produce serifs.

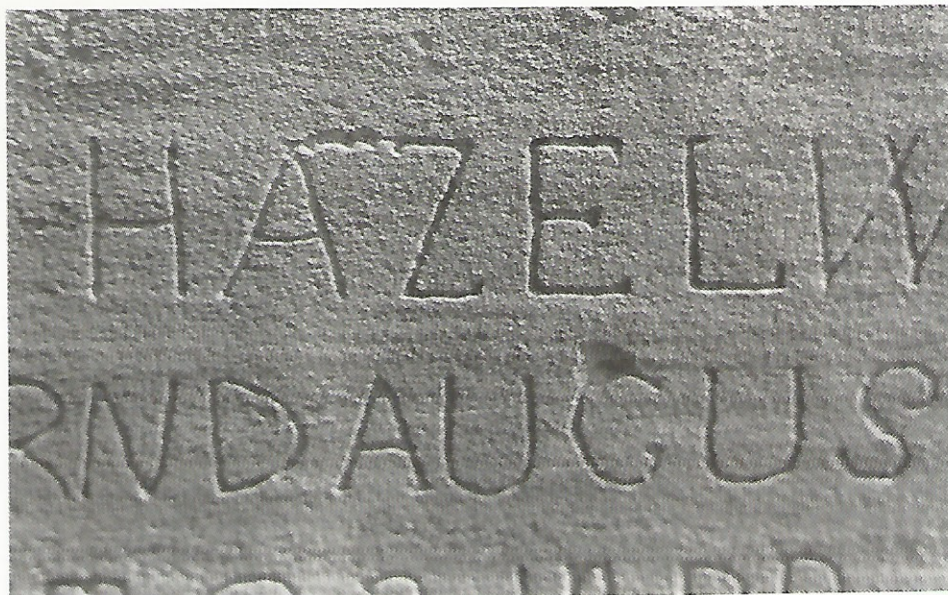


Plate 37. King Hazel gravestone showing inscription detail.

Hazel markers show the use of a punch to inscribe the lettering (*Plates 36 and 37*) and a chisel may not have been used to finish the lettering. The pattern for the first attempt at carving the William Cannaday gravestone was done with a punch or pick (*Plate 6*).

Dorothy Benard's stone appears to be an attempt to copy the earlier stone of her husband and others of the group. Her death date was eleven years after the others in the group and is the second-latest death date of the sample. The asymmetrical head suggests that it was done by someone who did not have a compass or understand the importance of such a tool.

Inscriptions

From a distance of more than 160 years the inscriptions look crude and childlike. But if we consider the educational levels of the earliest settlers, the isolation of frontier life, the persistence of that isolation well into the 19th century in Pope County, and that Noah Webster did not publish his dictionary until 1828, the inscriptions seem appropriate to that time and place.

The person or persons who carved the stones may not necessarily have carved the inscriptions. However, we hoped that by comparing the idiosyncrasies in letter styles and wording, we might identify the same hand on more than one stone.

When we first began to record the inscriptions, we thought that the crossed internal arms of the W's might be helpful. However, like reversed S's and N's they proved to be too common. The reversal of letters may be widespread and characteristic of semiliterate carvers. Peter Benes reported that inscriptions on folk gravestones located near Middleborough, Massachusetts, commonly exhibited reversed letters D, S, and N.

Another interesting letter style is a V shaped bar on the letter A. It occurs four times, on the gravestones of John Ditterline (died 1831), Elzebeth Cannaday (died 1831), Polly Cannaday (died 1830), and Daniel Hazel, death date unknown.

Although John Ditterline and the two Cannadays are buried in different cemeteries approximately 12 miles apart, the similar rendering of the letter A, the apparent similarity in the sandstone sources and workmanship of the markers, and their deaths within a two-year span may indicate a same carver.

There are two letters carved upside down: the F in OF on John Ditterline's stone and the W on William Scott's marker. These oddities, like reversed letters, may be nothing more than errors resulting from the copying of text by a person who had limited reading ability.

Evidence for the same carver inscribing several stones is strongest for the Ellis family and John Ditterline II. "Here

Anthropomorphic Gravestones, Pope County, Illinois

Cemetery and name as inscribed	Birth	Death	Measurements in inches						
			HAG	W	T	HD	NH	NW	SW
Rolston-Hazel									
Rhoda Hazel	1787	1810	47	19	4	14	3	11	4
Isaac Rolston	1751	1820 ¹	50	20	5	15	4	10	5
		Avg.	49	19.5	4.5	14.5	3.5	10.5	4.5
Cannaday-Ellis									
Jane Henderson Ellis	1808		44	17	3	14	3	10	4
Robert Ellis "Lisey"	1820		18	16	3	12	1	10	3
James Ellis			26	20	4	14	4	10	5
Polley Cannaday		1830	30	18	2	13	3	9	4
Elzebeth Cannaday		1831	32	20	5	15	3	12	4
William C. Cannaday		1839	23	14	2	11	3	6	4
		Avg.	29	17.5	3	13	3	9.5	4
Old Home - Beanard									
Frederick A. Beanard [I]	[1756]	1823	33	15	4	14	3	8	5
Polly Ann Scot		1826	20	13	2	12	3	8	4
Sarah S. Barger		1827	26	14	2	12	3	8	4
Simon S. Barger	[1788]	1835	31	17	2	14	3	11	4
William Scott		1835	22	13	2	12	4	7	3
Dorothy Beanard	[1766]	1846	35	17	2	17	6	9	6
		Avg.	28	15	2	14	4	9	4
Ragsdale									
Daniel Hazel	1746			21	2	15	3	11	5
Hazel (Dixon Springs)									
Susanna Hill	1786	1834	30	18	4	12	4	9	4
James Hill	1783	1835	36	20	4	14	4	10	5
Peter Sullenger	[1769]	1835	38	19	3	15	3	11	4
King Hazel	1788	1837	31	20	4	15	4	12	4
		Avg.	34	19	4	14	4	11	4
Shedville (Slankard)									
Elias Cotton	1796	1836	28	20	5	15	3	11	5
Mary Hase	1830	1851	22	21	6	15	3	10	5
		Avg.	25	20.5	5.5	15	3	10.5	5
Qualls									
John Ditterline [II]	1800	1831	38	19	3	13	3	10	5
Auterbein									
Abraham Watson		1845	34	21	2	15	6	12	5

Key: HAG = Height Above Ground; W = Width; T = Thickness; HD = Head Diameter; NH = Neck Height; NW = Neck Width; SW = Shoulder Width.

[] Indicates date obtained from sources other than gravestone, or designations added by the authors.

¹The correct year is 1823.

Figure 7. Measurements of anthropomorphic gravestones.

lies the body of" is inscribed on all four stones. From John's death date of 1831 we may infer a similar or close time of death for the Ellis family.

At the Old Home graveyard the word "deceased" is spelled with a T on the stones of Frederick and Dorothy Beanard and Polly Ann and William Scott. Eleven years elapsed before Dorothy Beanard's stone was inscribed with the same spelling. It is likely that it was simply copied from the earlier stones in the group.

Who Were the Carvers?

Peter Benes in his excellent study of folk gravestone carving in early Plymouth County, Massachusetts, found that individuals who initially took up stonecutting did so as a sideline. They were farmers, housewrights, a town clerk, and a surveyor. Also, the craft was frequently passed from father to son or son-in-law. Benes documented these important facts through hours of research in courthouse probate records. Although we explored such records that were avail-

able in the Pope County courthouse, there was no record of a gravestone carver during the early 19th century or of a gravestone purchase in the estates of King Hazel, Elias Cotton, John Ditterline, Frederick Beanard, and Roger Sullenger. Benes' work provides a basis for assumptions regarding family connections between our gravestone subjects and a possible stonecarver. Also, it seems very safe to assume that the Pope County carver was not a specialist, and that carving human-effigy stones was an avocation.

Early in our search we learned that James Beanard, a grandson of Frederick Beanard I whose grave is marked by an effigy stone at Old Home, was responsible for carving, after his return from the Civil War, the millstones for which Millstone Bluff is named. James was born in 1840 and died in 1913. He would have been too young to carve the effigy stones, but a stonecarving tradition may have resided in the Beanard family.

Leonard Farmer, great-great-grandson of Peter Sullenger, suggested that we contact Jim and Joyce McClellan who were working on the Sullenger family genealogy. Joyce told us that in their research they had discovered that Peter Sullenger's grandson Alexander T. Sullenger spent his later life as a stonecutter and monument dealer in McLeansboro, Illinois. Could Peter have passed the stonecutter's trade on to his grandson while Alexander was a young man living near Gold Hill (*Map 1*) in Saline County? Perhaps Peter learned to carve the effigy-style stones in his North Carolina home and carried the tradition to Pope County.

If we consider the relationships between frequency of effigy markers and family connections (eleven markers are either Hazels or their family members), the temporal proximity of Rhoda Hazel's marker and death date, and the Millstone Bluff neighborhood, then it appears that our carver may have been a member of the extended Hazel family -- or a neighbor of the Hazels when the family was living near Millstone Bluff (*Map 3*). Such a scenario is further supported if in fact the Millstone Bluff sandstone was used for effigy markers at the Rolston-Hazel, Cannaday- Ellis, and Hazel cemeteries.

John Mack Faragher illustrates the gravestone of Daniel Boone's wife Rebecca in his recently published biography of the pioneer hunter. Rebecca died in 1813 and was buried on Turque Creek just west of St. Louis, Missouri. Her gravestone was removed from the gravesite and now resides in the museum at Central Methodist College in Fayette, Missouri. From the drawing in Professor Faragher's book the marker looks intriguingly like the effigy gravestones of Pope County.

During a recent trip across Missouri



Plate 38. Entrance to the Cloyd family cemetery on Back Creek, Pulaski County, Virginia. The famous old plantation is now the home of the Compton family.

we examined Rebecca's stone at the College museum. In size and style, the stone is well within the range of the Pope County sample. The only stylistic variation is a slight expansion of the neck at the junction of the neck and body. Measurements are the following: head diameter 12 inches, neck width 11 inches, neck height 2 inches, shoulder width 2 inches, body width 15 inches, and total height 24 inches.

Faragher's sources offer a tantalizing bit of information regarding a potential group of carvers: "In those days," said Boone descendant Elijah Bryan, who lived nearby, "there was no such thing as regular gravestones. There were no markers on the Boone graves until the mid-1830s, when several Bryans arranged to set in place two small stones, inscribed with the names of Daniel and Rebecca in the rough hand of the local blacksmith."

A reference to a blacksmith as a part-time carver may be significant. The blacksmith was a vitally important mechanic on the frontier. He probably had the skill and certainly had the chisels, hammers, and other necessary tools to make gravestones. We found a claim presented by George Evitts in the estate of King Hazel for blacksmith services. George was a neighbor of King Hazel and lived about a mile northwest of Dixon Springs.



Plate 39. Gravestone carved by Laurence Krone located at St. John's Lutheran Church, Wytheville, Virginia.

We continued to search for a carver of plain anthropomorphic stones and finally found one, not in Pope County, but 650 miles to the east in Pulaski County, Virginia. Pulaski County was known to us from our earlier search for the eastern homeland of the Beanards and Shufflebargers. Later, searching for information on gravestones, we discovered Klaus Wust's booklet *Folk Art in Stone: Southwest Virginia*. The booklet con-

tained a picture of the Cloyd family cemetery near Dublin, Pulaski County (Map 9). Surrounding the graveyard was a sandstone wall and flanking the entrance gate were two anthropomorphic shaped figures (Plate 38). The wall, the gate sentinels, and a gravestone within had been carved by Laurence Krone in 1830 for the Cloyd family, for which he received \$125.00. Krone was a fairly well known carver working in southwest Virginia in the early 19th century. He was frequently hired by well-to-do German families for whom he carved elaborate gravestones bearing folk art motifs that included lilies, roses, hearts, and trees, favored symbols reflecting their German and Pennsylvanian heritage (Plate 39).

As we search for differences in gravestone art and styles in a sea of cultural and ethnic borrowing, Laurence Krone's work for the Presbyterian Cloyds and his German Lutheran clients seems instructive. Perhaps the plain effigy styles fit the taste and Calvinistic theology of the Cloyds, but he was obliged to

retain the beautifully decorative and ancient folk art motifs preferred by his German Lutheran customers.

We know that some of the Shufflebargers were Lutherans before coming to Pope County, but they did not bring the German folk art motifs to the edge of frontier settlement in that county. Traveling with the Shufflebargers when they left Virginia were the Beanards. Frederick and Dorothy and their children lived only three miles from the Cloyd family home (Map 9). However, they did not see the effigy-style stones at the Cloyd Cemetery, the exact same style that would mark Frederick's grave at Old Home Cemetery in 1823, because they left Pulaski County 13 years before Laurence Krone carved them.

There are other pieces of information that seem important at this time regarding the plain anthropomorphic gravestones. First, our investigations in Pope County indicate that the style probably occurs earlier in Pope County than in Virginia, assuming that Rhoda Hazel's,

Isaac Rolston's, and Frederick Benard's gravestones were placed near the times of their deaths. Second, J. Roderick Moore, director of the State Center for Blue Ridge Folklore and Folklife at Ferrum College in Ferrum, Virginia, who has studied material culture and gravestones for over 20 years in Virginia and surrounding states, reports that he has not seen the plain human effigy form found at the Cloyd Cemetery used elsewhere as a gravestone shape.

This information suggests that the style will be found more frequently in isolated, back country and frontier neighborhoods where it was well suited to the spiritual, economic, and technological levels of pioneer life. By the late 18th century, southwestern Virginia was becoming densely populated, pushing the less affluent into the more isolated frontier, precisely the kind of environment in which one would expect the simple human effigy gravestone style to exist and also persist.

CONCLUSIONS

Peter Benes describes three conditions under which folk practices thrive:

The single most important condition for the development of a folk culture is probably isolation, both in physical terms and in the sense of being counter to, or in conflict with, a larger or dominant cultural area or group. A second condition for the development of a folk culture is a society in which the household is dominant. All peoples who have produced folk traditions, have in common a society in which the family or family-symbols play a central role. A third condition is an oral, non-literate, transmission. An authentic folk activity cannot be taught; it cannot be written down; it can only be "passed" down.

Although leading colonial gravestone makers in New England were skilled craftsmen who self-consciously applied Puritan folk themes

to what in every other way was a commercial art form, the majority of New England's rural carvers were naive artists who worked under conditions of isolation, domesticity, and non-literacy.

When viewed within their historical and genealogical context, the human effigy gravestones of Pope County seem to fit Benes' conditions under which folk practices thrive. Certainly there would be no argument about the gravestones being folk artifacts.

The Pope County pioneers who had a preference for effigy gravestones were in the vanguard of westward migration, usually living in relative isolation. Pope County has always been somewhat remote, accessible at first only by ferries and steamboats. With the decline of steamboat transportation many communities in other locales were served by railroads. Pope County, however, did not receive rail service until 1900. These fac-

tors, along with the county's rugged environment, contributed to conditions of isolation.

Are we also seeing social isolation in the Pope County gravestones and the families they represent? The epitaphs of Jane Henderson Ellis and John Ditterline II allude to the conflict between social classes and religious dissenters in England in the 17th and 18th centuries. Given the conservative nature and persistence of religious doctrines, this may be nothing more than the persistence and availability on the frontier of hymnals containing Isaac Watts' hymns. On the other hand, the fact that there are no effigy-style stones in the Golconda city cemetery (only 12 miles from a graveyard in our sample) may reflect a socioeconomic isolation between "town folk" and "rural folk" in Pope County.

The second condition, dominance of "family or family-symbols," seems dramatically illustrated by our anthropomorphic gravestone sample. Specifically, 12

of the 23 stones recorded relate to the Hazel family or its extended family members. This important family linkage may have significant implications for the identification of the carver(s) and may demonstrate the "passing down" of a folk craft within the family.

The gravestone inscriptions offer a graphic example of the illiteracy or semi-literacy of the person(s) called upon to inscribe the markers. As we have pointed out earlier, the reversed and inverted letters, erratic spacing, and unusual spellings were consistent with educational levels of the majority of the population in the early 19th century. Information that was inscribed on the stones may have been transmitted verbally or in a crudely written note to a carver who had very limited reading and writing skills. In this regard John Ditterline's epitaph is unusual. It follows Isaac Watt's verse in every word except "head," and this may have been omitted due to lack of space. Perhaps this inscription was copied directly from a hymnal.

We had posed several questions at the beginning of our study: Who were the carvers? Did the gravestones represent a specific religious denomination? Where did the style originate?

Laurence Krone or his helpers carved two effigy-style sentinels (*Plate 39*) at the entrance to the Cloyd family cemetery in Pulaski County, Virginia. The dimensions of these two Virginia ex-

amples fall well within the range of the Pope County gravestones, with the exception of overall height. This use as gateposts raises an interesting question. Did the gravestone style evolve from an architectural tradition? Or did Laurence Krone see the form in a rural cemetery as a grave marker during his many travels and adapt it to the wall and entrance to the Cloyd Cemetery? There is yet another possibility; perhaps the Cloyd family specified the form.

Although we were unable to identify the carver(s) of the Pope County sample, we did identify some potential carvers or families in which a stonecarving tradition may have resided.

Alexander T. Sullenger (1814-1905) spent his working lifetime as a stonecutter and monument dealer. He may have learned the trade from his grandfather Peter or from his stepfather John S. Pattillo.

As mentioned above, members of the Hazel family may be potential candidates. From John Mack Faragher's research regarding Rebecca Boone's human-effigy gravestone, a neighborhood blacksmith is also a possibility.

The question of religious or denominational affiliation and effigy gravestones must await further research. However, if the pioneers and the audience that preferred this style of stone were members of a church, it is likely to have been one of the well-known frontier religions, Methodist, Baptist, or Cumberland Pres-

byterian. In Pope County it seems evident that if the "rural folk" were Presbyterian, they were of the Cumberland persuasion.

Due to the limited information inscribed on most of the gravestones, we cannot be sure of attitudes regarding death. "Here lies the body of" is quite literal and harks back to an earlier time. Certainly the large footstones at the Cannaday-Ellis and Hazel cemeteries suggest the footboard of a bed, and epitaphs such as "this clay must be your bed" clearly demonstrate that sleep was a metaphor for death.

Assuming the death date range of the Pope County sample (1810-1851) is correct, then the style spans about one generation. When that generation passed away, the anthropomorphic gravestone style also passed away. If this inference is correct, we would predict that the style has a relatively restricted temporal range throughout the Trans-Appalachian West, perhaps 50 to 60 years.

Having established a historical and technological context for the 23 effigy-style gravestones in Pope County, we are now in a position to examine the distribution of similar markers in the Upland South, Southern Illinois, and Missouri. Also we hope that other investigators will respond to this study and contribute to this interesting problem by reporting on similar style markers in other areas.

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